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Growth of Not-Man in Buddhism

Since Indian teachers began to make central, not just 'man,' not just the visible, bodily expressed man, but the inner, the spiritual man—the 'man-in-man',—their teaching became and has remained the most notable word on the subject that the world has seen. To say of each man: 'Thou, the inmost thou, art That!'—Highest Reality, Spirit, Divinity!—may be, nay, must be but a groping-after; it may be amplified in ways more or less unworthy. It was so amplified. But to utter it, to hold to it, as cults come and go, is to have got in the wedge-end of the true. With anything less there is surely no right wording of this that is very man. With it we set out towards further coming-to-know in a way that will at long last lead each one to 'That.'

But there came a day when India wavered in her vision. This was when she began to consider man in a new way of analysis, man not only as having body, not only as thinker and doer, but as 'having mind': *cetanā, cetanavant.* It was as 'having intelligence among intelligences' that the 'man' entered into body and became its driver.[1]

We have to get out of our modern standpoints to understand the new, strong fascination which this analysis exercised on the Indian imagination. Yet are we ourselves novices—

1 Cf. *Maitrī Up.*, 2, etc.

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crude novices at that—in our own recent detachment of mind-study from man-study. And were it not that we are too near to see ourselves in true perspective, we should discern with sympathy that old-world development.

As we know, the founder of the new analysis is said to have been one Kapila, and his secular or non-Brāhmaṇical school became known as Sāṅkhya or Computing. The word includes both numbering and naming. As analysis, its effects became articulate long after in a temporary name given to Buddhist ecclesiastics.[1] There was in Kapila's teaching no lessening the reality or worth of the 'man,' no resolving of man into mind. The novelty was in considering the ways of him, other than physical ways, as *natural process*. Process could be examined; the proceeder as *sui generis* was not examinable.

The teaching appealed to the newer time-spirit astir in North India, and infected the Brahmin teachers. As a school it was not yet taken over; that came later. But computing mental phases, valuing in terms of mind came strongly into vogue, as is betrayed in the Chāndogya, Bṛhadāraṇyaka and Aitareya Upaniṣads. And a sense of nascent danger is also betrayed:—'Seek not the thinking, the feeling.....seek the thinker, the feeler'.....[2] Later as we know, Vedāntism absorbed the worth and work of Sāṅkhya, and the 'man-in-man' survived the danger,—a danger of which we here and now know something—of being submerged in mind.

But among other teachings the Sāṅkhya influence worked with a more potent and lasting leaven. Centres of religious reform arose after Kapila, committed from the start to a new emphasis on the greater religious importance of *the life* as compared with the ritual, of the will in choice as compared with the prescribed act. Herein they were implicitly, if not explicitly, anti-Brahmin—implicitly, since we do not hear of any anti-Brahmin crusade. Brahmin ideals of man's

1 Vibhajjavādins.

2 *Kauṣītaki Up.*, 3, 8.

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nature and worth were at first accepted. And the saintly man as spiritual entity was still called 'Brāhmaṇa.' That this spiritual entity was real, the real of reals, *did not come into question*. Had a teacher said 'The man (*puruṣa, ātman*) is not', it would have been to show himself a madman.

Nevertheless with the fading importance of ritual offered to placate, there was bound to arise examination in current values of That concerning whom and what the rites were performed. That was imperishable (*akṣara*) and, as such, immutable and not becoming. Was the very man indeed one with That? Was he as 'having intelligence' really independent of the infirmities of intelligence? Could he as entity persist, with self-expression by way of mind, which analysis showed to be a succession of units far more brief-lived than body? Could it be maintained that, clogged with burden of body and mind, he was most inwardly one with consummate all-being? The Śākyan (i.e. Buddhist) mandate had placed man as wayfarer in a Way, signifying both choice and growth in the Better, whereby in many ages and many worlds he might attain to That. But there was supervening another vogue, the monk-vogue of an enlarged escape from worldly hindrances even during youth. In that vogue the patient wayfaring by way of life's countless opportunities towards that perfection, of which the inner man was but the germ, was depreciated; the idea of 'becoming'[1] became dreaded as so much rebirth. The perfect man, with consummation into That cut off, dwindled into a 'worthiness,' to be attained in earth-conditions—a perfection, to us, clearly unobtainable in that it was limited by its conditions. In this vogue of monasticism the Indian conception of the man-in-man as inchoate divinity, which might under the concept of the Way (*mārga*) have deepened the religious thought of India, wilted and died. The man became merged in his ways, a stream of bodily and mental events.

1 *Arahattaṃ.*

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I tried to trace this evolution of the not-man in Buddhism four years ago.[1] There is not enough evidence perhaps to make the truth of it patent to our Indologists, who are compelled to study Pāli literature as only an adjunct to more central studies. But there are evidences sufficient to make a case *not to be brushed aside.* Now as yet the brushing aside is just what has been done. Books still appear referring to a tenet of not-man, or not-I, or not-self, or not-soul, as fundamental in the original teaching of what came very late to be called 'Buddhism.' This would matter less if the early mandate were called, as Asoka called it, 'Saka' or Sākyan, and not Buddhist. It never was called Buddhist till the founder's teaching had been twisted and smothered in monasticism. But by modern writers, *either* the Sākyan gospel is identified as the monastic elaboration—in this case the Piṭakas are taken at their face-values, i.e., monk-values—*or* the disentangling of a wholesomer gospel for 'Everyman' from these values is stated to be impossible.

So I am trying here to state the case for evolution once more, and to say it better, if all too briefly.

Among the teacher-dicta ascribed to the Founder as His earliest are these : (1) *Is it not better that you should seek the 'man'*[2] ? and the negative warning : (2) *The 'man' is not body, not mind.*

(1) In that day the words 'man' and 'self' were equivalents. When the injunction just cited came to be written down, 'self' (*attānaṃ*) was used, not 'man' (*purisaṃ*, or *puggalaṃ*). But 'man' was probably the word actually used, since this, and this alone gives point to the injunction which was a counter-question :—'Is it a *woman* with stolen property you ask me about ? Were it not better for you to be seeking the *'man,'* the very 'You' ?'

(2) In the other saying, the wording which came to be

1 Buddhist Psychology, 2nd. ed., London, 1924, ch. xiii.
2 *Attānaṃ.*

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selected, by repeaters, by editors, or both, has been singularly unfortunate, and has doubtless played its part in the growth of error. Instead of the negative syllable being attached to body or to mind, it is prefixed to the man (or self) : 'body is not-self', *rūpaṃ anattā*, and so on. Had the saying been worded in the books : *Puggalo*, or *attā*, *na rūpaṃ*, etc., the need of this crusade might never have arisen. That it actually was so worded originally I believe to be highly probable. There was, I repeat, no question, when the Founder taught, of the 'man's' reality. And whereas later editing has inserted the fourfold grouping of the mind, there is no parcelling out of the one responsible individual into such 'groups' or events when his very salvation is in question. It is : 'Verily I say unto *you* !'...'I tell *thee*, sire, I declare to *thee*, sire, *thou* hast no time to dally'...'Verily not by another has this been done ; *thou* hast done it and by it shalt *thou* now be judged.'

It is the very man we see as the 'burden-bearer' of body and mind, laying down one body at death, taking up another, wayfaring through the worlds—'you and I'—the man remembering, where there is abnormal gift, how 'I' was so and so in a former life ; the man who has lately left the earth appearing clairvoyantly to one abnormally gifted on earth and recognized *as the some time friend* of past years.[1]

All such, as teaching or as told experience, the books ascribe to the Founder. Nor is there anywhere imputed to him that later quibble : 'I use these words by way of common speech-usage, but in their ultimate meaning they are but labels for fictitious unities.'[2] Has there ever been a Helper of the Many who did so speak ? Or who taught concerning the very man and his welfare and his coming-to-be in negatives ?

1 E.g. Bimbisāra, the king, Anāthapiṇḍika, the merchant, Ajita, the warrior, appear severally after death to Gotama.

2 I do not find this distinction clearly worded before the Milinda-pañho, p. 160.

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But when the books were finally redacted, when at length the books in a non-Indian environment, were written down, much had changed. To careful critical reading this is fairly evident. That parable of the Jeta wood :—is it not obvious that there has been a dropping out ? They are clearing kindling-wood out from the trees : 'are the faggots the wood ?' asks the Teacher...'No more are body and mind really *you*'.[1] Body goes to the funeral pyre ; the man stands as stands the wood, putting forth new verdure and blossom with each spring...with each access of new will...But in the books the application of the wood to the man has somehow fallen out, and all point in the parable is gone !

The omission is fairly obvious. Was it made, involuntarily or voluntarily, in consequence of a changed standpoint ? Was that standpoint changing during the Founder's lifetime ? I should say it certainly was, especially during his old age, when we may gather he toured less, and resided mostly in the Sāvatthi Jeta Wood, in his 'Fragrant-wood Hut'. His work went on, for his community had become numerous and influential. And there will have been much work at Sāvatthi of comparing repetitions of Sayings, and deciding on standardized versions and, in cases of leading tenets, of a reduction to brief formulas and labels. But in all this, and the more aged he grew, there will have been ample opportunity for the growing pre-occupation with *mind* rather than with the *man* to assert itself among energetic younger men representing a newer vogue. The man as wayfarer among the worlds, earth as but one of them, on his long way to That, belonged already to the thought of yesterday. It was that body and mind which had been declared to be 'not the man,' it was the human congeries or, in modern jargon, 'complex' which was proving of interest. It was this world more than the long world-way that was the central problem. It was the new idea of consummation in 'worthi-

1 Saṃyutta, iii, 33 ; iv, 82.

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ness' (*arahatta*) here, before the human complex broke up, that took the place of a goal only to be attained by life-developments elsewhere.

Thus the simpler *caveat* of the earlier 'what the man is not' was elaborated into the formula of the 'person-group': "the wise man does not look upon body or any mental 'group' as the self, nor the self as having body or mind, nor upon either as being in the self, nor the self as being in either."[1] Again we know how the 'advanced' woman's term for living being as a 'mere bundle of complexes'[2] recorded among the older sayings, eventually captured the imagination of the scholastics, together with its singularly inapt chariot simile, bringing to Vajirā, the nun, undreamt of posthumous fame.

The second century of the Buddhist Sangha probably witnessed the compilation of the first half of the Abhidhamma books. In these the most noteworthy feature is the growth of mental analysis, and of the habit of banishing the the 'man,' and of discussing merely the ways of him, bodily and mental. Of such discussions there are interesting anticipations in the Sayings of the preceding century, notably the two catechetical Suttas of the Majjhima. And here too the 'man' has practically dropped out! For instance, it is not the 'man' who enjoys what the senses bring, but 'mind'. In the past, with little vision, I welcomed here a harbinger of our own old 'sensus communis'. The commentary might have served as warning; with no psychological insight it illustrates simply, directly, more truly, with a parable of five *rentiers*, receiving an income small or large, and the *king*, to whom all the five villages pay taxes. It is the 'man' who tastes, the 'man' who values. How much editing, I wonder, could that Sutta tell us of, were it too 'man'?

Of the first, earlier half of the Abhidhamma Piṭaka, one book is called *Puggala Paññatti*. But so far is this from

1 E.g. Majjhima, i, 300.

2 *Suddha-sambhāra-puñja*, S., i, 135.

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making good on the subject of the evicted 'man' (*puggala*), that the translated title 'Designation of Human Types'—types, classes, not individual entity, men, not the man,—fits very accurately ? With the fading out of the reality of the 'man', the study of men in sets, of mind in class and category was gaining ground enormously.

But this vogue had not prevailed without dissentients. It was only natural that Indian culture, when and so far as it was taken up into Buddhism, should not easily make such a *volte-face* as to go back on the very axis of its religious view of life. Upholders of the reality, the ultimate truth of the 'inner controller' (*antarayāmin*) had formidable arguments. It is in the 5th, the concluding book of the *first* canonical Abhidhamma Piṭaka, the *Kathā-vatthu*, that we can see, in the precedence and the length of the controversy on the 'Man' and in the points, often unmet, of his upholder, what a crisis the Sangha had been going through, before the orthodox purging at Patna under Asoka became possible. There is no space here to go into the series of debates between the Man-theorist (*Puggalavādin*) and the Vibhajjavādin, representing the prevailing orthodoxy. Despite the absence of any adequate psychological terms, or of writing, the points raised amount none the less to a searching and comprehensive inquiry. Virtually they are in a two-fold group : the nature of man as judged by our own immediate experience here, and the need of a hypothesis of that nature as tenable in a belief in passing at death to other worlds. Is man the sole ultimate, *sui generis* ? Or what sort of *co*-ultimate is he ? Is he ultimate in virtue of self-consciousness ? Then *is* he when not self-conscious ? Is he agent where agency and locus of agency are indicated :—seer in sight, etc., like villager in village, king in kingdom, jailer to jail ? Does he persist in virtue of his faculty of becoming (*bhava*), or is not becoming itself non-persisting ?

No explanation of this notable effort, taken in relation to the rest of the book itself and to the values in earlier books

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on the one hand and later books on the other, is to me possible save in the light of such a changed standpoint as has been put forward.

Nor should it be overlooked—I say it here and now again—that nowhere in the Kathāvatthu does the orthodox Analyst bring forward in defence the distinction between popular and philosophic meaning in doctrinal teaching on the "man' (*puggala*). Yet it is just here that he needs it, and would surely have referred to it. It is only in the Commentarial peroration that use is made of it—a fairly good proof that it came only later into use.

Let us now take later milestones to that change.

In that other remarkable book of debates, the *Questions of King Milinda*, the date of which is placed in the first century of our era, the standpoint of the 'not-man', based, be it noted, solely on Sister Vajirā's simile, is hurled by the senior speaker—the monk—at the junior (the king), or ever he asks about it. 'My name, sire, is a label for the parts of me; nothing more, no 'me'-ness. And to the fiction 'man' is now given a new name: 'experiencer' (*vedagū*, *vedako*[1]). Not as other-world hypothesis is the 'man' most hard to kill. It was becoming as easy to put the other world on one side as it would seem to be even at this time of day. It is as 'that-who-is-conscious'—the unanalyzable agent in the analyzed mind-events—that 'the man' made his last stand. That, *e.g.*, the seeing is not either willed or enjoyed by the mindless eye-organ, but is an act by and for Some-one:—this is answered quite childishly by the 'Sage'. As a Sāṅkhyan argument it was still valid later in the manual *Nyāyabindu*.

As to that in the man-complex who *reacts on the impressions*, in attention and other forms of will, here there is no teaching and no wonder; for where will is both discerned and worded at all worthily, the *willer* must of necessity be also discerned and worded.

1 *Miln.*, p. 54, etc.

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Our second milestone is the Pāli Commentaries of Buddhadatta and Buddhaghosa. In them scholastic Buddhism has reached the summit of its negative standpoint. It may not sound a negative position, when we note the divisions of the latter's famous treatise *Visuddhi-magga* :—Morals, Concentration, Wisdom. But as we read, we see that these are discourses on the ways of a Subject who is perpetually declared to be a nonentity. We hear about events happening to, and mental states arising about 'a self, a doer, an experiencer' who is expressly said not to be. That 'he' is spoken of 'is merely, as the wise know, by way of common usage····· ' 'Only the events, the states occur : this is right view.'[1] Argument about it is no longer needed. All the teacher has to do is to say it over and over dogmatically, much as a child might be told in the dark that there are no bogies.

Or if, with Buddhadatta, we ask :—can there be mental states without the minder ? he tells us, that just as buds appear owing to the elements and the seasons, so do mind states appear from the confluence of causes.[2] He too and Buddhaghosa no less, trot out the little Sister's foolish simile, equating the 'man' with a man-made apparatus (a chariot) to aid his movements. But Buddhadatta fathers her folly on to the Founder himself : 'was it not said by, etc. ?' To equate 'the man' with physical process is perhaps a less glaring error.

Now to the best of my knowledge this not-man position has remained a cardinal tenet in South Asian Buddhism till the present day. From the days of the writing down of the Canon it forms with two other equally sinister negations the axiomatic trinity in the religious philosophy of monastic Buddhism : 'impermanence, ill, not-man.' It is true that there would seem to-day to be symptoms within the fold, that the last of the three, as worded in Canon and Commentary,

1 P. 602 of my edition.

2 *Abhidhammāvatāro* : 'Kārakapaṭivedho.

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is felt to be untenable. *An-atta*, I hear, is now, by at least one divine, asserted to mean 'dependence', 'non-absoluteness'. It is good to note a moving in very still waters; but the assertion surely finds no support in Scriptural sources. It is at most but *one aspect* of the old general assumption.

It will be cast at me, that while later 'minds', together with the tardily introduced art of writing, have resulted in developed affirmation and more fluent expression, the not-man dogma is already emphatic in the Suttas of the Canon. Have we not, beside those cited, the Alaggaddūpama (No. XXII) and the Aggi-Vacchagotta (No. LXXII) of the Majjhima Nikāya, not to mention much else, where in the wording of the senses etc. as "neither the self nor 'selfic'," and so forth, the consideration of the very man is, if not denied in so many words, shown as no fit subject for careful thought?

I grant that this is so, and that, in the much edited Canon as it has come down to our day, we see that the later developments are but a natural outcome of the standpoint taken up in and by that editing. The mistake we make today is that of yesterday; that is, in accepting the opinions developed and developing in those Pāli scriptures *as the original teaching*; in accepting them without question, without constantly reminding ourselves that we are dealing, even in the portions deemed to be oldest, with palimpsests, compiled and recompiled during centuries of oral tradition from the voices of repeaters, by monks and for monks.

I say, 'for monks'. It is not realized, by those especially who read at second-hand only, how true this became, how absorbed in its inner monastic world the Sangha became, how nugatory in religion the opinion of the laity was, how ignorant was the laity of the contents of the oral, and then of the written literature, *how ignorant the laity still is*. In the beginning the teaching of Gotama the Sākya was a mandate for Everyman, placing his feet in a truer Way to his eternal welfare. Gradually that mandate became worded as not for Everyman but for the Half-man (witness the word

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'pabbajitena' in the first 'sermon'), for the man who had cut the knots of life's problems instead of working by his natural life at the solving of them. That short-cutting was, in conditions fleeting and woeful, to erase the 'man' who was wayfaring through them, who was valuing them as such, and was seeing in them *opportunities* for becoming more and more That Who he really was ; and to build, out of the fleeting flux of observed results, bodily and mental, a creature of precocious 'worth', the ideal monk (*arahaṃ*).

There is evidence that, in these mobile repeatings, where no books were, rectifications were needed from time to time, and were made. For the relative perfection of trained memorizing, on which we too readily fall back, was a Brahmin monopoly ; the Buddhists were mere amateurs in it. And no repeater, probably no one centre, ever knew more than a section, never knew *all* the records as we can now. The rectifying meant this and only this : adapting varying versions to accord with the view held, at a given time, by the rectifiers. And thus, and inevitably the 'Sayings' edged further and further from the teaching, grown antiquated, of the days of the mandate.

I do not say that we can 'recapture the first fine rapture' of that. We can try. But it is worthier of our new science of historical criticism to try, and to confess we are trying, than to accept at their face-value the monk-dicta of Asokan or Sinhalese editors as the primary message. Worthier is it to remember Kern's conclusion : "The more we try to remove the difficulties, the more we are driven to the suspicion that original Buddhism was not exactly that of the canonical books."[1] Made over thirty years ago, that conclusion is still too little heeded.

Probably our own 'man'-less psychology hinders us from seeing how irrational is the deadlock into which Buddhism had fallen when the Pāli Commentaries were written. We

1 *Indian Buddhism* (1896), p. 50.

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do not quite deny the 'man'. But we call him 'soul', 'metempirical self,' and shelve him. We then analyze events, results, complexes, like any Buddhist. The result is, we are losing the individual in the 'herd'. Herein we are off the vantage-ground whence we can judge the mandate of a new world-religion. This has ever been the telling man of a fuller, not an emptier life, the telling him that there is more he can be and become as very man, not less. Such a message never was, never could be a message of negatives.

C. A. F. Rhys Davids

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Life of Mahmud Gawan

The most imposing and illustrious figure who played his rôle in the Deccan History towards the middle of the 15th century was Khwaja Mahmud Gawan, originally, a native of Geelan in Persia. He was born in the year 1403 A.C., and he traced his descent from a very high, influential and respectable family of Geelan. According to his biographer Mulla Abdul Karim Sindhi, as quoted by Ferishta, his ancestors were, for many generations, ministers of the princes of Geelan. One of them even became the ruler of Rushd.

Little is known about his life in Persia. More than forty years of his life he passed in Persia, sometimes in literary activities and sometimes in rendering military services to his relatives in Rushd. But on the advent of Shah Tahmasp to the Persian throne, his relatives were driven away from Rushd and the country passed into the hands of the Safavi dynasty.[1] During this time Mahmud, out of fear for the Persian monarch, fled from Rushd and travelled through many countries of Central Asia, such as, Irak, Khorasan, etc., with two objects in

1 Briggs' Ferishta, vol. II, p. 511.

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view, viz, first, to find out suitable centres for commerce and, secondly, to visit the famous literati of that age. It was with these aims in view that he started for India and landed in the Deccan in the year 1446 A.C. during the reign of 'Alāuddīn Shah II. 'Alāuddīn himself being a man of great learning was so highly impressed with the noble qualities of Gawan that he prevailed on him to give up his commercial ideas and to be enrolled as a noble of the Bahmani kingdom.

During this reign he rendered invaluable military services to the state and showed so much proficiency both in civil and military administrations that, within the short period of 10 or 11 years that the king lived, he became one of the most important personages in the Bahmani kingdom. The king appreciated his services, so much so that at the time of his death he advised his son Humāyūn, who succeeded him to the throne, to appoint him as his minister. After his accession to the throne Humāyūn appointed him as his minister "with the title of Mallik-ut-Tujar" and gave him the governorship of Bijapur.[1] Humāyūn had a great respect for the minister. He continued to hold this important post during his reign and the reign of his son and successor Nizam Shah.

When Nizam Shah ascended the throne he was a mere boy, and so a Council of Regency was formed to conduct the administration of the kingdom during his minority. The Regency consisted of Mahmud Gawan, Khwaja Jehan Turk and the Queen Mother,[2] but the burden of the whole political machinery was on this great minister. The Mother always acted in accordance with his advice. During the reign he saved the Bahmani kingdom from a great calamity, viz., the combined attack of the Roys of Orissa and Telingana on the one hand and Sultan Mahmud of Malwa on the other.

1 Briggs' Ferishta, vol. II, p. 453.
2 Ibid., vol. II, p. 464.

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Gawan was a politician and a far-sighted statesman. He foresaw from the trend of events that it was rather impossible to repel all the attacks simultaneously without the help of a foreign power. So, he judiciously took the help of Mahmud Shah of Gujarat and thereby defeated all the attacks of the Roys of Orissa and Telingana on the one hand and those of Sultan Mahmud on the other (Burhan-i-Maasir). It was he alone who realized the gravity of the situation, and if he had not thus taken the timely assistance of a foreign power, the fate of the Bahmani kingdom would have been sealed.

After the death of Nizam, his brother Muhammad Shah III ascended the throne of the Bahmani kingdom, but he was then only a boy. So, the administration of the kingdom was again put into the hands of a Council of Regency—Khwaja Jehan, the Queen Mother and Mahmud Gawan. The education of the young king was entrusted to the hands of Khwaja Jehan, and Mahmud Gawan was engaged in the administration of the Frontier Provinces. The result was that within a short time Khwaja Jehan became all-powerful in the state and acted in a manner which seemed to be alarming to the Queen-Mother ; so, she soon got rid of him by putting him to death with the help of his son (Burhan-i-Maasir and Tarikh-i Ferishta).

After the death of Khwaja Jehan, Mahmud Gawan was called back from the Frontier Provinces and again made a minister with the title of Khwaja Jehan. From this time till his death in the year 1481, whatever was done, whether in the civil or military administration, was ascribed to this far-sighted minister. Peace was concluded with Malwa, Orissa was made a tributary, Kondapalli and Rajahmundry were subdued, Antur, Washagur and Ranjangum were added to the Bahmani kingdom and the rebellious chiefs of Telingana were humbled. The Bahmani kingdom reached its highest expansion during this reign, and Mahmud Gawan clearly foresaw the necessity of territorial redistribution of the kingdom. Mahmud Gawan

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found that the provincial governors were so many kings within their jurisdictions—"they were in sole charge of the forts within their jurisdictions and the appointment, promotion and dismissal of the commandmant and garrison of these forts, depended on them alone."[1] In short, the whole machinery of the administration was allowed to run on in such a defective form that no device was ever contemplated or put into practice to check the whims and caprices of the provincial governors. Revenue was under their control, soldiers were under their command and forts were garrisoned by them. What else was necessary for asserting oneself? Any governor could, at the slightest negligence on the part of the central government, throw off the mask and cut off every connection with it. Specially was it true in the case of a kingdom which attained great territorial extension, for the simple reason, that the frontier provinces could not be so well governed as those near the Headquarters as it is the "immutable condition and the eternal law" of nature that "the circulation of power must be less vigorous at the extremities" than at the centre.

'Alāuddīn Hasan divided his kingdom into four provinces—Berar, Daulatabad, Bijapur and Telingana. But his reforms were made at a time when the kingdom was still at its infancy, and now that the kingdom had reached its full growth and territories were much larger, redistribution of the provinces was an imperative necessity. So, he subdivided each of the provinces named above into two, thus making the number of provinces eight instead of four. In each of these provinces "several places were reserved especially to meet the kings" private expenses and distinct collectors were appointed from court to manage them."[2] He put another

1 Tarikh-i-Ferishta, printed in original, vol. I, pp. 532-33. Vide my article, Administration of the Bahmani Kingdom, *IHQ.*, December, 1926, p. 693.

2 Briggs' Ferishta, vol. II, p. 503.

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salutary check on the provincial governors. Hitherto all the forts in the provinces were left entirely in the hands of the Tarafdars. But he curtailed the power of the provincial governors and left one fort only in a province under the control of the Tarafdar, the remaining forts being placed in charge of officers appointed and paid by the king directly.[1]

These reforms enhanced the power of the central government and checked to a very great extent the centrifugal tendencies of the provincial governors, but these changes made Gawan very unpopular among a class of the nobility who chafed and fretted under his iron clutches. In regard to the military administration he increased the salary of the officials on the one hand, and on the other the full number of army was enforced. No one was excused for keeping even one soldier less than the full complement.[2]

In enforcing these regulations Mahmud Gawan became an eyesore to the Deccannies and Abyssinians who always bore an idea of hatred and ill-feeling towards the foreigners. In the Bahmani kingdom there were two powerful parties, one formed by the foreigners, that is, who were originally inhabitants of foreign countries like Persia, Arabia etc. but who subsequently settled down in the Bahmani kingdom, and the other formed by the Deccanies in conjunction with the Abyssinians who made common cause with the Deccanies. These two parties were at daggers drawn to each other and none could ever brook the ascendency of the other. The new regulations of Gawan supplied the spark necessary to ignite the whole system. Headed by Nizam-ul-Mulk, the Deccanies made a plot against the life of this minister. With the help of the Keeper of the Seal they affixed the minister's seal to a paper. Nizam-ul-Mulk then wrote a letter on it in the name of Mahmud Gawan to the Roy of Orissa, which ran thus :—"I am weary

1 Tarikh-i-Ferishta printed in original, vol, I, pp. 691f.

2 Vide my article, Administration of the Bahmani Kingdom, IHQ., pp. 696f.

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of the debaucheries and cruelties of Mahummad Shah: the Deccan may be conquered with little trouble. On the Rajahmundry frontier, there is no officer of any character; and that tract lies open to invasion from your quarter. As most of the officers and troops are devoted to my interests, I will join you with a powerful army. When we have, in conjunction, reduced the kingdom, we can divide it equally between us."[1] The letter was then produced before the king in his drunken state. On seeing it he was incensed beyond measure and called for the minister at once. On hearing the summons of the king, Gawan went immediately before him, in spite of repeated warnings on the part of his friends and well-wishers. He only replied to them saying, "He, who dies a martyr in the fulness of devotion, has his reward here and hereafter; happy, then, would it be for me to meet with so enviable a destiny."[2] When he appeared before the king, he asked him—"When one is disloyal to his sovereign, and his crime be proved, what should be his punishment? Mahmud replied, "Let the abandoned wretch who practises treason against his lord meet with no mercy." The king then gave him the letter. Gawan was surprised to see it, but the king would not hear him any more. He at once sentenced him to death. On hearing the order Mahmud only said,—"The death of an old man like me is, indeed, of little moment, but to Your Majesty it will be the loss of an empire and the ruin of your character."[3] He was then executed. (The details about the death of the minister are almost the same both in the Tarikh-i-Ferishta and Burhan-i-Massir).

Thus died Mahmud Gawan, a great scholar and minister, in the year 1481 at the ripe age of seventy-eight, but still it must be admitted that his death was too sudden, unjust

1 Briggs' Ferishta, vol. II, 506.
2 Briggs' Ferishta, vol. II, p. 507.
3 Brigg's Ferishta, vol. II, p. 508.

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and unwarranted. He was beheaded at a time when the service of such an able and honest man was most needed for the Bahmani kingdom, and Gawan himself realised it when he made the above remark prophetically. Indeed, he was the only man in the state who could check the disruptive and disintegrating tendencies of the kingdom. The Bahmani kingdom had reached the meridian of its glory at the time of his death and he was the main pillar upon which rested the whole political structure which with his fall fell to pieces. After his death there was none in the state strong enough to check the party quarrels and internecine struggles which raged, from day to day, with increasing fury, till it brought about the final disruption of the kingdom. From his death till the final extinction of the kingdom, the history of the Bahmani kingdom is only a history of quarrels, intrigues and inhuman slaughter on either side of the two hostile parties.

For about thirty years Mahmud Gawan made every endeavour to consolidate the power of the sovereign, not at the expense of the rights of the people, and, by curtailing individual liberty, but by a judicious exercise of his power, which not only checked the whims and caprices of the refractory chieftains and the oppressive and rebellious propensities of the provincial governors, but also made the country happy, prosperous and free from robbers as is testified by the Russian traveller Athnasius Nikitin who visited Bidar in 1470 A.C. He said, "The country was populous, the lands well-cultivated, the roads safe from robbers and the capital of the kingdom, a magnificent city, with parks and promenades."[1] By his revenue reforms, the cultivators were allowed to pay their revenues either in cash or in kind and every effort was made to protect them from oppressions and illegal exactions.

Mahummad Shah III fully knew the capacities of the

1 India in the 15th Century, Hackluyt Society's publication.

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minister when he once said, "The Almighty hath bountifully conferred upon me two incalculable blessings ; a great kingdom and such a servant as Mahmud Gawan"[1] Had he been at Agra or Delhi, probably he might have become as famous as Abul Fazal, or Todar Mall. Even the sincerity of Abul Fazal may be questioned on certain points but about the sincerity of Mahmud Gawan there was not the least doubt.

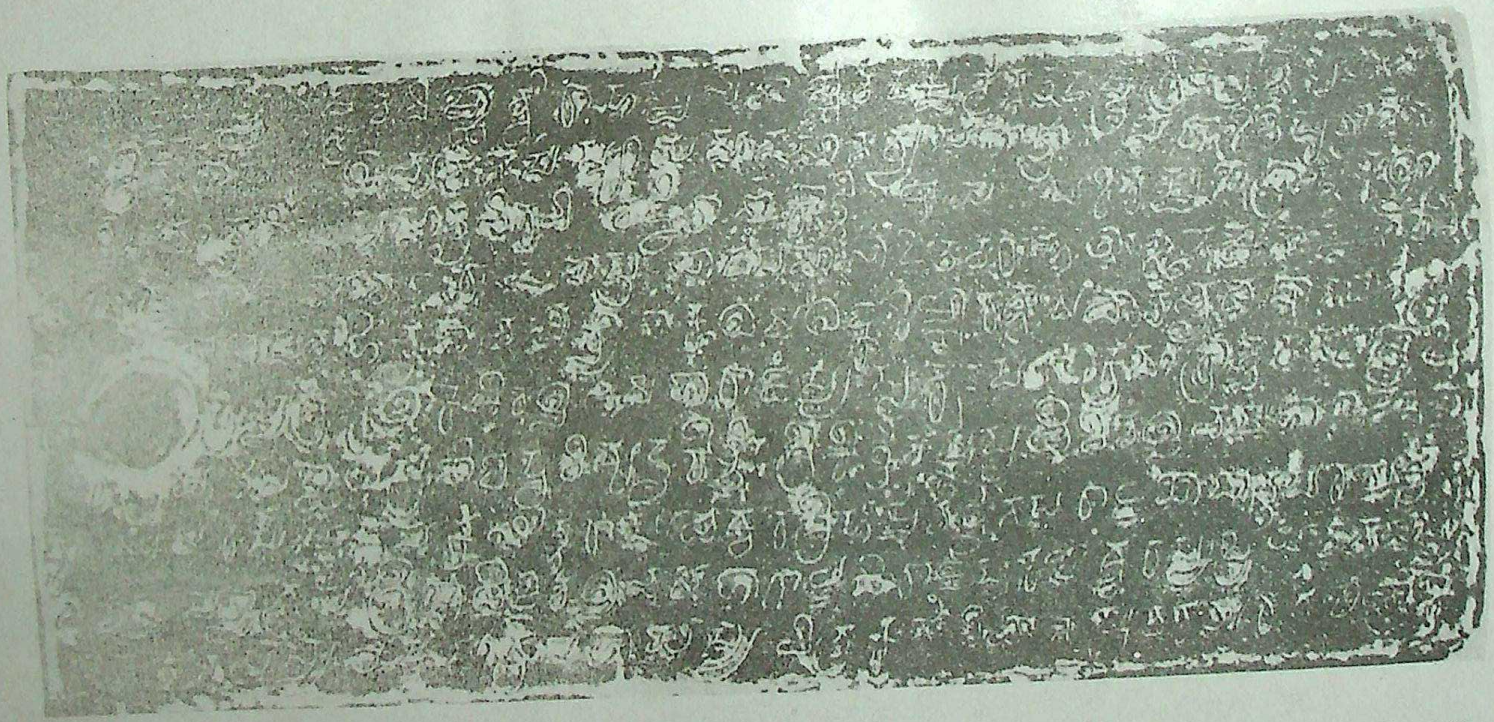
"There are in the Deccan many remains of the munificence of this great man, particularly a college built by him at Ahmadabad Bidar two years before his death, containing also a mosque and a large square." He "possessed much learning" and "he evinced great taste in his compositions both in prose and verse, and in arithmetic and mathematics he had few equals. The Rauzat-ul-Insha and some poems of his production are still extant in a few of the libraries in the Deccan. It was his practice to remit annually valuable presents to several learned men in Khorasan and Irak, and the princes of those parts bestowed honours upon him."[2] He had also a library and at the time of his death it consisted of three thousand books. He lived in a simple style, distributed his money among the poor and always hated unnecessary pomp and grandeour. But it is a pity that a man with so many noble qualities in him and who did so much for the sovereign and the state was done away with in such a cruel and unjust manner. History records with deep regret the death of such a noble man in so ignoble a manner !

JOGINDRA NATH CHOWDHURI

1 Briggs' Ferishta, vol. II, p. 499.
2 Briggs' Ferishta, vol. II, p. 510.

Elapura Grant of Western Cālukya Vijayāditya

First Plate



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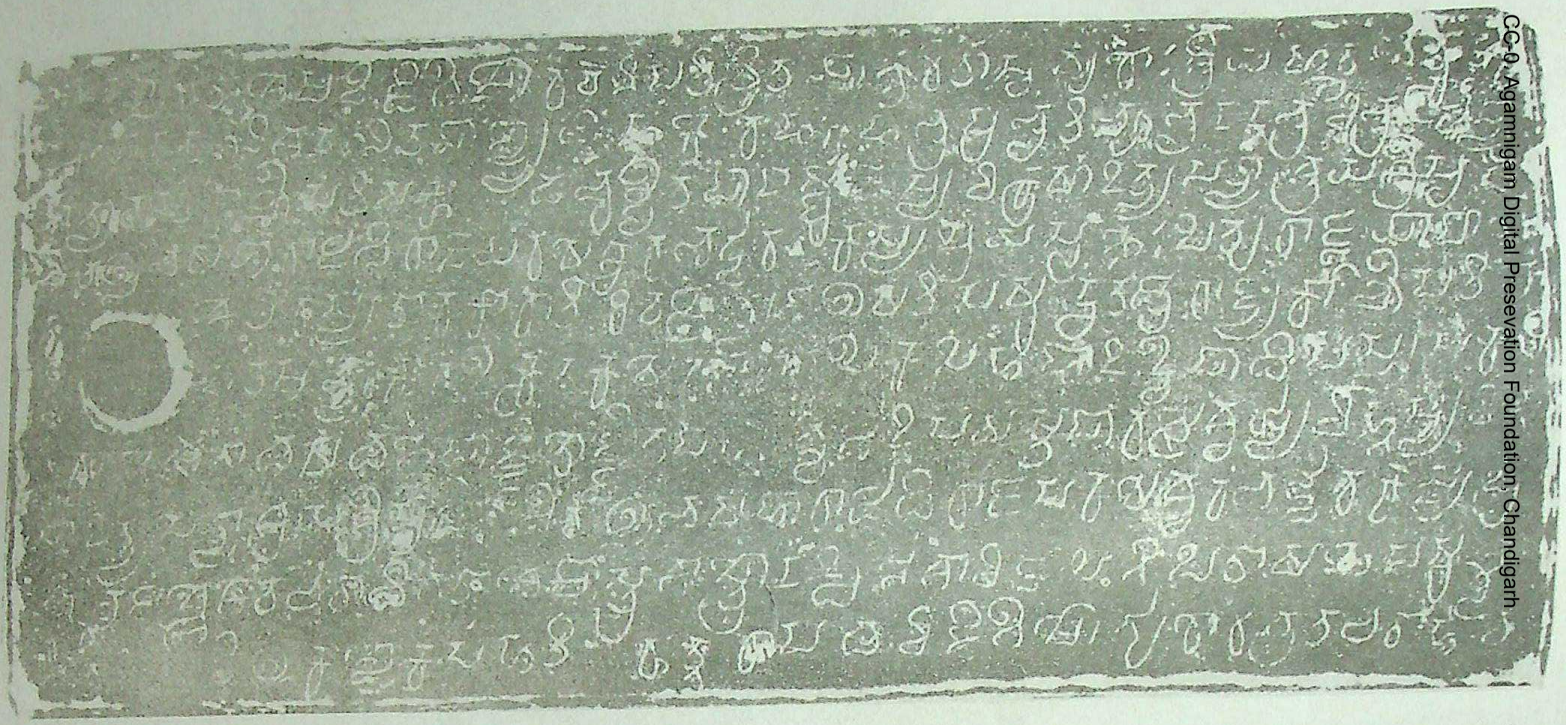
Elapura Grant of Western Calukya Vijayaditya

Second Plate : First Side



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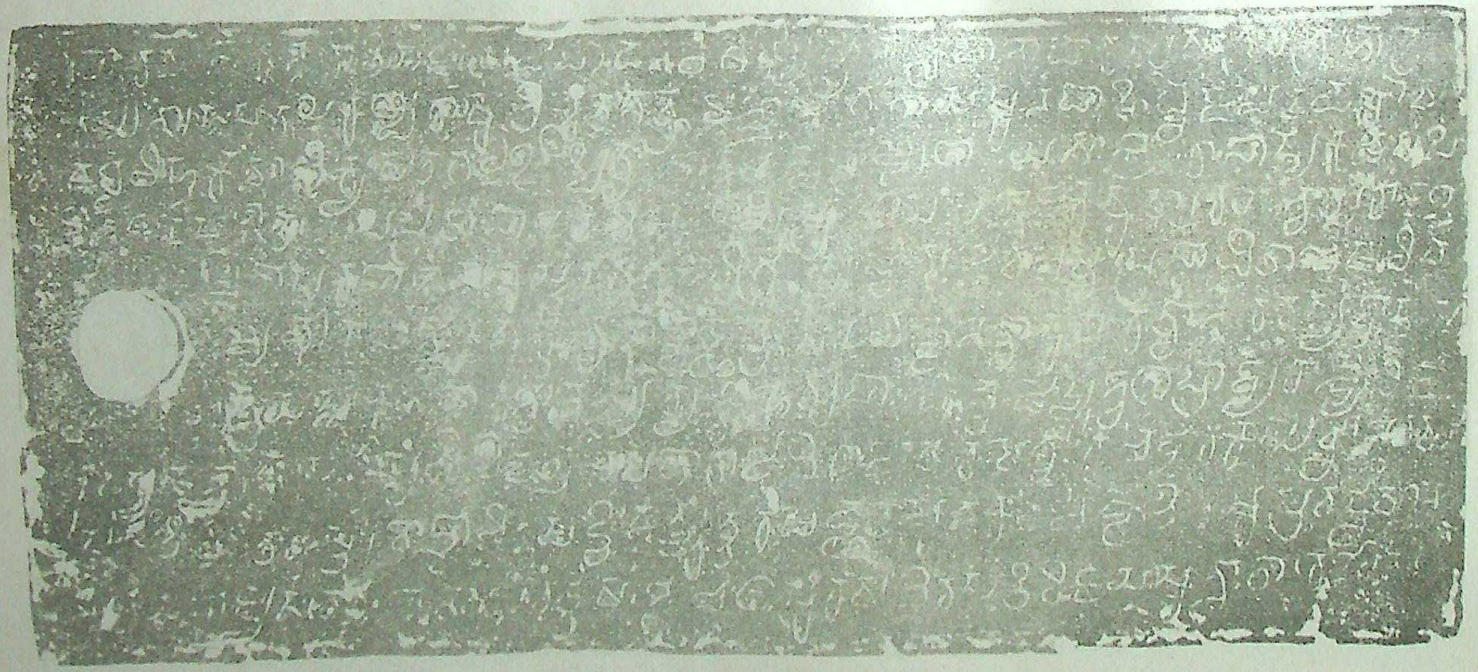
Elāpura Grant of Western Cālukya Vijayāditya

Second Plate : Second Side



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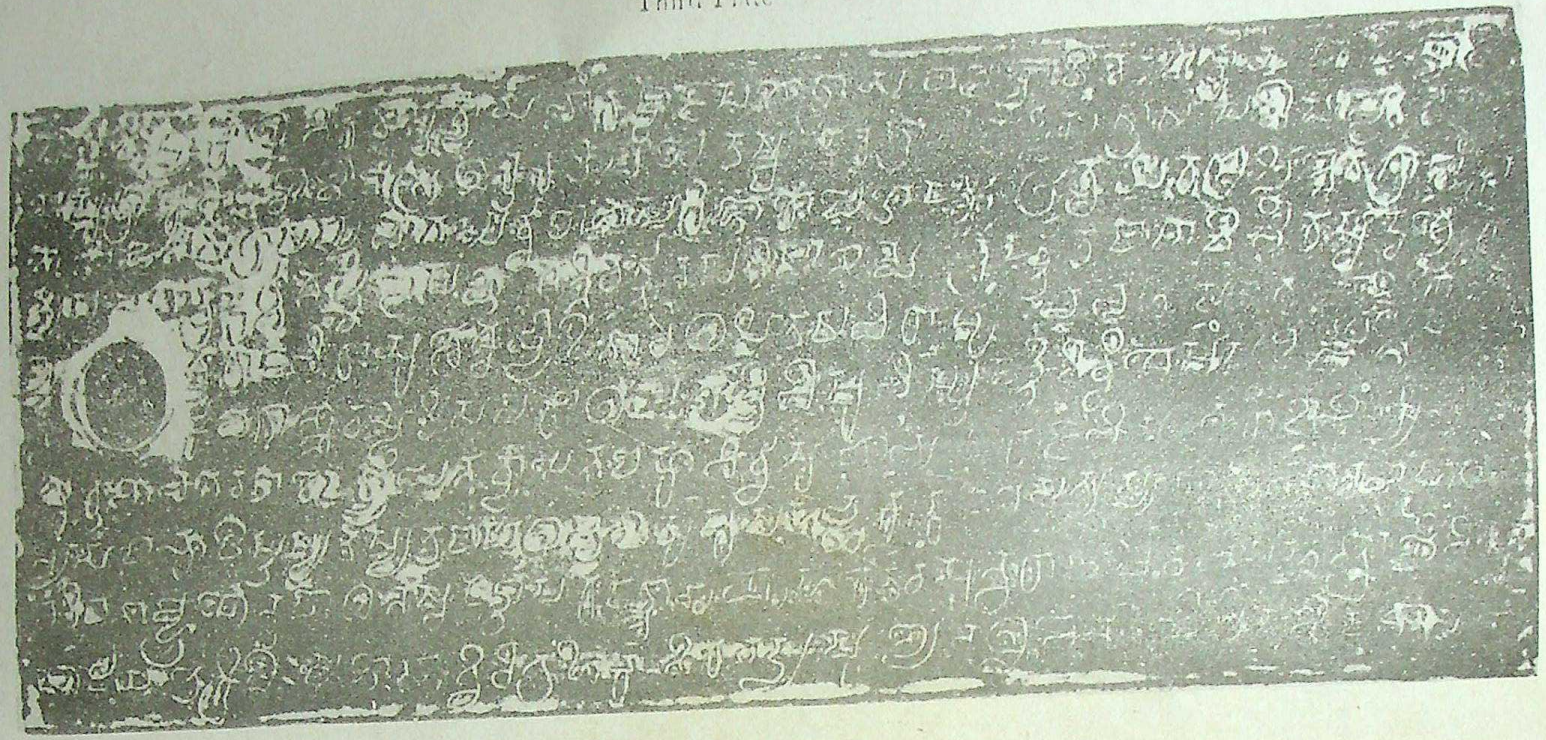
Elapura Grant of Western Calukya Vijayaditya

Third Plate



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Elapura Grant of Western Cālukya Vijayaditya Śaka-Samvat 626

The grant is inscribed on *three copper-plates* which were obtained by me through the kindness of Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar. Nothing is known about the spot where they were found except that it was somewhere in the Satara District. I have therefore named the grant after the place from which it was issued.

The inscription is engraved on one side only of the first and the third plates and on both sides of the second. The plates measure about $9\frac{1}{4}''$ by $4\frac{1}{4}''$, have raised rims, and are strung on a ring about $3\frac{2}{3}''$ in diameter and about $\frac{1}{2}''$ thick. The ends of the ring are secured in the base of an elliptical *seal* bearing in relief on a countersunk surface a *standing boar which faces to the proper right* as on the Nerur plates of the same king.[1]

The plates are in an excellent state of preservation and the writing is well engraved. There are very few slips, orthographical or grammatical.

The alphabet is of the same South-Indian variety as in the Rayagaḍ plates[2] of the same king (Vijayāditya) and the plates of his father Vinayāditya[3] and grandson Kīrtivarman II.[4] With the last, however, some slight difference is noticeable in some of the individual letters. When used singly, *l* has nowhere the subscript form which Prof. Kiel-

1 *Ind. Ant.*, vol. IX, plate facing p. 125. The symbol on the Rayagaḍ plates of Vijayāditya has been described by Prof. Pathak as a boar facing to the *proper left*, but no impression has been given.

2 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. X, p. 14 and plates.

3 Togarcheḍu and Karnul district plates, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. VI, pp. 86 and 89.

4 Vakkaleri plates, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. V, pp. 200 ff. and plates and Kendur plates, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. IX, p. 200 and plates.

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horn noticed in the Vakkaleri plates of Kīrttivarman II[1] and which can also be seen on the Kendur plates of the same king;[2] this form is properly used in our plates only in compound letters as in *Vallabha* (l.6, etc.). Otherwise *l* has two forms. The peculiar South Indian form is the one used most frequently, as in *Sakala* (ll.2 and 27), *Kalyāṇa* (l.3, etc.); altogether it is used fifteen times; the earlier form, closely resembling the Brāhmī is also used often, though more rarely than the first, as in *Calikyānāṃ* (l.5), *Sakalottarāpatha* (l.8, etc.), being altogether employed ten times. Besides, the *Dravidian l* has a distinctly separate form as in the proper names, *Coḷa*, *Keraḷa* and *Kaḷabhra* (l. 12), *Siṃhaḷa* (l.16), *Pāḷisvāmin* (l.31) and the word *Pāḷidhvaja* (ll.17, 22). Altogether, therefore, four forms of *l* are used in these plates and all of them are represented on the Rayagaḍ plates which were written by the same scribe, viz., Niravadya-Puṇyavallabha. Two different forms of *ṇ* have also been used. The form most frequently used is the ordinary South Indian variety which is employed 16 times. The other form is found in two words only, viz., in *dakṣiṇa* (l.1) and in the name *Durggaśarmaṇe* (l.34), and judging from resemblance with it, we may read as *ṇ* the first letter in the names of the villages that we have read as *Taṭṭiya* (l.32). This second variety of *ṇ* is not found in the Vakkaleri plates, but something very much like it is apparent in the corresponding word *dakṣiṇa* in the first line of the Talamanci plates of Vikramāditya I.[3] This type of *ṇ* was noticed by Bühler in a Kadamba inscription.[4] The letter *m*, very much resembling the Brāhmī form, is used as a subscript in compound letters.[5] This form is more in evidence in the

1 *Ed. Ind.*, vol. V, p. 201.

2 For example, in *Sakala* (l.2), *Ep. Ind.*, vol. IX, plate facing p. 202.

3 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. IX, p. 99 and plate.

4 *Indische Palaeographie*, Table VII, col. XII, 21.

5 As in the words *Kīrttivarmman* (l.7), *āt-maja* (l.8), *-tma* (ll.1, 19), *asmābhiḥ* (l.29), *bahmaṇa* (l.32), *Durggaśarmmaṇe* (l.34) etc.

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Rayagaḍ plates where it is used even in single letters.[1] The subscript form is also found in the Talamanci plates of Vikramāditya I.[2] The sign of *a* is sometimes put as an upward stroke as in *dakṣiṇa* (l.19) and sometimes as a downward stroke as in *-tya-va* (l.1). The latter form is more frequent. A corresponding two-fold variation is also observed in the mark for *o*, e.g., the upward stroke is found in *dakṣiṇo* (l.1), and the other form in *maṇḍaḷo* (l.22), Sakalo (l.16) etc.

The sign of the *Avagraha* is nowhere used in these plates. The sign of the *Upadhmānīya* is used in three places (ll. 22, 23, 26), before the surd labial *p*, but not in all cases as the *visarjanīya* is used in such cases as *sūnoḥ parākrama* etc. (l.6) or *sūnoḥ pitur* (l.14). The *Visarjanīya* has generally been assimilated to a following *ś* or *s*.[3] Except in rare cases as in b a ḥ u b h i r-v a s u d h ā (l. 37), there is reduplication after *r*. The final *m* is everywhere changed into *anusvāra* and there is no mark of punctuation anywhere.

The language is Sanskrit and except a verse at the beginning and three deprecatory verses at the end, the whole of the inscription is in prose.

These plates do not supply any historical information beyond what we already know from the other published grants of the same king. The grant is dated in the ninth year of king Vijayāditya in Śaka-Saṃvat 626 expired, corresponding to 705-6 A.C., that is, in the year following that of the Rayagaḍ grant (Ś.-S. 625 expired). The grant is issued from Elāpura which is no doubt to be identified with Ellora as Fleet has shown.[4] As the place where the plates were found is not known, I have named the grant after this place.

1 As in *pitāmahe* (l.19); *Kathamapi* (l.22) etc.—*Ep. Ind.*, vol. X, p. 16 and plate.

2 As in the word *Kīrttivarmma* (l.8) or in *Dharmma* (l.16) etc. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. IX, p. 98 and plate.

3 See lines 8, 19, 21, 22, 26, 27, 28, 33, 36, 37 etc.

4 *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts, Bom. Gaz.*, vol. I, pt. II, p. 391, note 6.

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TEXT

First Plate

1. Svasti Jayaty=āviṣkṛta[ṃ*] Viṣṇor=vvārāhaṃ kṣobhitārṇṇa-avaṃ[ḷ*] Dakṣiṇonnatadaṃṣṭrāgra-viśrānta-bhuvanaṃ va-

2. puḥ[ḷ*] Śrīmatāṃ sakala-bhuvana-saṃstūyamāna-MĀNAVYA SAGOTRĀṆĀṂ HĀRĪTĪ-PUTRĀṆĀṂ sa-

3. pta-lokamātṛbhis=saptamātṛbhir=abhivarddhitānāṃ Kārtti-keyapariraksaṇaprāptakalyā-

4. ṇa-paramparāṇāṃ bhagavaṇ-Nārāyaṇa-prasāda-samāsādita-varāha-lāñchan=ekṣaṇa-kṣaṇa-vaśī-

5. kṛtāśeṣamahībhṛtāṃ CALIKYĀNĀṂ[1] kulam = alaṅkariṣṇor= aśvamedhāvabhṛtha-snāna-pavitra-

6. gātrasya[2] śrī-PULAKEŚI[3] VALLABHA-MAHĀRĀJASYA sūnuḥ parākramākrānta-VANAVĀSYĀDI-

7. paranṛpatimaṇḍala-praṇibaddha-viśuddha-kīrttiḥ śrī-KĪRTTI-VARMMA-PṚTHIVĪ-VALLABHA-MAHĀRĀJAS-tasy=ā-

8. tmajas = samara-saṃsakta-sakalottarāpatheśvara-śrī-HARṢAVARDDHANA-parājayopātta-parameśvara-

9. śabdasya SATYĀŚRAYA-śrī-pṛthivīvallabha-mahārājādhirāja- parameśvarasya priya-tanayasya

10. prajñāta-nayasya khaḍgamātra-sāhāyasya Citrakaṇṭhābhidhāna-pravara-turaṅgamenaike-

Second plate : First side

11. naiv=otsāriṭāśeṣa-vijigīṣor=avanīpati-tritay-āntaritāṃ svaguroḥ śriyam ātmasātkṛtya[4]

12. prabhāva-kuliśa-dalita-PĀṆḌYA-COḶA-KERAḶA-KAḶABHRA-prabhṛti-bhūbhṛd-adabhra-vibhramasya

1 This is the form generally in use in Vijayāditya's grants. The Vakkaleri plates of Kīrttivarman II (*Ep. Ind.*, V, p. 202) have *Cālukyānāṃ*.

2 The Vakkaleri plates have *pavitrīkṛtagātrasya*.

3 For the variants see Fleet, *Bombay Gaz.*, vol. I, pt. II, p. 343.

4 Read *ātmasāt-kṛtvā*.

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13. natyāvanata-KĀÑCĪPATI-makuṭa-cu[m]bita-pādāmbujasya VIKRAMĀDITYA-SATYĀŚRAYA-śrīpṛthi

14. [vī]vallabha-mahārājādhirāja-parameśvara-bhaṭṭārakasya priya-sūnoḥ piturājñayā Bāli (e)

15. nduśekharasya Tārakārātir=iva Daityabalam=atisamuddha-tan=trairājyaKĀÑCĪPATIba

16. lam = avaṣṭabhya karadīkṛtaKAMERA[1]-PĀRASĪKA-SIMHALĀDI-dvīpādhipasya sakalo

17. ttarāpathanātha-mathanopārjjit = orjjita-pālidhvajādi-samasta-paramaiśvaryya-cihnasya VINA

18. YĀDITYA-SATYĀŚRAYA- śrīpṛthivīvallabha - mahārājādhirājapara-meśvara-bhaṭṭārakasya pri

19. y-ātmajaś śaiśava ev=ādhigat=āśeṣ=āstraśastro dakṣiṇ=āśā-vijayini pitāmahe samunmū

20. litanikhilakaṇṭakasaṃhatir uttarāpathavijigīṣor=guror=agrata ev=āhava

Second Plate: Second side

21. vyāpāram=ācarann=arāti-gajaghaṭā-pāṭana-viśīryyamāṇakṛpā-ṇadhāras=samagravigrahāgre

22. śaras=san=sāhasarasikaḥ parāṃmukhīkṛta-śatrumaṇḍalo Gaṃ-gā Yamun(ā) pālidhvajapadadhakkā[2] ma

23. hāśabdacihnakamāṇikyamataṃgajādīn pitṛsātku(r)vvan paraiḥ palāyamānair āsādya katham api

24. vidhivaśād apanīto'pi pratāpād eva viṣaya-prakopam=arājakam utsārayan=VATSARĀJA i

25. v=ānapekṣit = āparasāhāyakas[3]=tad avagrahān nirgatya svabhujāvaṣṭambha-prasādhit=āśeṣa-viśva

26. mbharaḥ=prabhur=akhaṇḍita-śaktitrayatvāt (c)=chatrumada-bhañjanatvād=udāratvān=niravadyatvād= yas=sa

27. masta-bhubanāśrayas = sakala-pāramaiśvaryya-vyaktihetu-pāli-dhvajādy-uj-[j]-vala-prājya-rājyo VIJA

28. YĀDITYA-SATYĀŚRAYA-śrīpṛthivīvallabha-mahārājādhirājapara-meśvara-bhaṭṭārakas=sarvvān=evam=ā

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1 Read *Kavera.*

2 This may also be read as *paḍa-ḍhakkā.*

3 Read *sahāyaka.*

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29. jñāpayati viditam astu vo 'smābhih ṣAḌVIṂŚATYUTTARAṢAṬ-CHATEṢU ṢAKAVARṢEṢV = ATĪTEṢU PRAVARDDHAMĀNA-

30. VIJAYARĀJYA-SAMVATSARE NAVAME VARTTAMĀNE ELĀPURAM adhivasati vijayaskandhāvāre PAUṢA

Third Plate

31. PAURṆṆAMĀSYAM KOLLAGIRA-vāstavyāya BHARADVĀJA-sagotrāya DĀMASVĀMINAH pautrāya PĀLISVĀMI

32. NAH putrā[ya*] KEŚAVASVĀMINE ALAKUKA-VIṢAYE TAMBADARA-GRĀMA-ṬAṬṬIYA-GRĀMA-samīpasthaḥ BAHMA

33. ṆAVĀṬA-NĀMA-GRĀMAS = sabhogas = sarvvabādha - parihāropeto dattaḥ[1*] atra yara[1] asminneva[2] grāme KĀ

34. ŚYAPA-sagotra-DURGGAŚARMMAṆE PAÑCĀŚAN = NIVARTTANA PARIMĀNAM kṣetraṃ dattaṃ tad āgāmibhir asv(m)ad vaṃśyair = a

35. nyaiś ca rājabhir = āyur = aiśvaryyādīnāṃ vilasitam acirāṃśu-[3] cañcalam = avagacchadbhir = āca

36. ndrārkadharārṇṇavasthitisamakālam yaśaś-cicīrṣubhis = svadatti-nirvviśeṣaṃ paripālanīya

37. m[1*] = uktañ ca bhagavatā VEDAVYĀSENA VYĀSENA [1*] Bahubhir = vasudhā bhuktā rājabhis = SAGARĀdibhir = yasya [4] ya

38. sya yadā bhūmis = tasya tasya tadā phalaṃ [1*] Svandātuṃ sumahac = chakyaṃ duḥkham = anyasya pālanaṃ [1*] Dānaṃ vā pālanaṃ

39. veti dānāc = chreyo 'nupālanaṃ [1*] Svadattāṃ paradattāṃ vā yo hareta vasundharāṃ[1*] ṣaṣṭiṃ varṣasahasrāṇi viṣṭhā

40. yāṃ jāyate kṛmiḥ [11*] Mahāsāndhivigrahika-niravadya-puṇyavallabhena likhitam = ida [ṃ*] śāsanaṃ [11*]

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1 Read *purā*.

2 The first two letters are not very clear.

3 The anusvāra has been displaced owing to insufficiency of space.

4 Read *saga.ādibhiḥ yasya*.

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Balaji Bājī Rāo: A Historical Retrospect

Bālājī Bajī Rao, the third Peshwā of the Bhaṭ family, was the eldest son of Bājī Rāo Bālājī or Bājī Rāo Ballāl. There is considerable divergence of opinion among modern historians as to the true estimate of his character. One class of writers regards him as the prototype of later Maratha statesmen like Sakhārām Bāpu or Nānā Faḍnīs, while there is a growing tendency to regard him as one of the causes of failure of Maratha power in India. Bālājī Bājī Rāo, better known among his own countrymen as the Peshwā Nānā Ṣāhib, was born on the 12th December, 1721, and was married at the early age of nine on the 10th January, 1730. Upon the death of his father, the intimation of which reached him in the beginning of May, 1740, he returned from the Konkan, where he had gone to the aid of Mānājī Āṅgre of Kolaba, to Poona and went to Satara for investiture. After some delay he received the clothes of formal investiture on Wednesday, the 25th June, 1740.

With the exception of a short period (January—April, 1747) when he was removed from office by the Maratha king Śāhu he continued as Peshwā till his death in 1761. The Maratha empire reached its fullest expansion during his regime and, his death, shortly after the shock of the great Maratha disaster at Panipat, saved him the pain and humiliation of witnessing its final disruption. The period of office of the third Peshwā has been divided into two convenient periods:—(1) the first nine years ending with the death of Mahārājā Śāhu in 1749 and (2) the succeeding eleven years ending with the third battle of Panipat in 1761.

Śāhu was growing old and though he had married twice he had no hopes of getting any male children. The imbecility of his earlier years had turned into melancholia. Growing

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financial difficulties and the constant quarrels between his queens had converted the last years of his existence into one of prolonged torture. The growing power and prosperity of the Bhaṭ family and the Citpāvan Brāhmaṇa class had raised great apprehensions in the minds of the principal Maratha *Mānkarīs* or nobles. The opposition to the rise of the Bhaṭ family, headed by the impetuous Candrasen Jādhav, the son and successor of Dhanājī Jādhav, was continued by the Maratha officers of the state, who claimed direct appointment by the king. Such were the Bhonsles of Berar and the Gaikvaḍs of Gujarat. Bālājī Viśvanāth Bhaṭ had crushed the ambitious Jādhavs and Nimbālkars and had managed to deport his dangerous rivals from the Maratha Swaraj. His son, Bājī Rāo Ballāl, had suddenly fallen upon Trimbak Rāo Dābhāḍe and removed another dangerous opponent at the battle of Dabhoi in 1731. He practically became supreme in the Maratha state and remained so till the date of his death at Raver near Bhusawal on the 13th April, 1740. So long as he was alive his enemies at court remained passive. As soon as the news of his death spread, most of them hastened to Poona to prevent the succession of his son to the Peshwāship. Raghujī Bhonsle I was fighting in the Arkāṭ district against the Musalmans when he received the news and he returned towards Poona at once, leaving his work incomplete. The Bhonsles of Berar regarded themselves as kinsmen of the Maratha Royal family though they were no blood relations and Raghujī I had some reasonable hopes of giving one of his sons in adoption to the sonless Maratha king. He knew that the appointment of a third Peshwā from the Bhaṭ family would prove a serious bar to his pretensions. The other opponents of the Bhaṭ family remained quiescent for the time being and neither Tārābai nor Damājī Gaikvaḍ rose to interfere.

Raghujī's intention was to persuade the king to bestow the Peshwā's office on his friend Bāpujī Nāyak Bārāmatīkar who was of sufficient importance and yet one of the minor

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chiefs who could be controlled at any time by a more powerful one. Two months were spent after the death of Bājī Rāo I in these intrigues and the situation compelled Bālājī Bājī Rāo *alias* Nānā Ṣāhib to station one of his nearer relatives at court throughout Śāhu's lifetime.

Maratha historians assign this to be the principal cause of the Peshwā Nānā Ṣāhib's inactivity during the first nine years of his administration. During these nine years the Peshwā went out on the following campaigns :

(i) Sironj and Bhilsa (November 1740 to July 1741).

(ii) The campaign in Hindustan and the war with Raghujī Bhonsle I (December 1741 to June 1743).

(iii) Second campaign in Bhilsa and the arrangement of Bundelkhand (1744-45).

After 1745 the Peshwā Nānā Sāhib was compelled to spend almost the rest of his career in the Deccan, except for a short period when he advanced with the reserves as far as Sironj in Malwa to support his eldest son Viśvās Rāo and his cousin Sadāśiv Rāo Bhāu in the campaign of Panipat. The intrigues at the Maratha court of Satara and the appearance of the redoubtable Dowager-queen Tārā Bāī on the stage affected the situation very seriously and continued to do so till the Peshwā's death. After the death of Śāhu and the succession of Rām Rājā, the Peshwā's attention was diverted from Northern Indian politics to that of the South and he was entirely engrossed in the spoliation of Niẓām and the plunder of the Karnatak districts. In four separate campaigns, the last of which took place in 1759-60, the Peshwā tried to destroy the remnants of the Mughal empire in Southern India and succeeded in wresting from G-hāzī-uddīn II and Salābut Jung, the eldest and third sons of Niẓām-ul-Mulk Aṣaf Jāh I, large tracts of territory. These campaigns may be narrated here briefly. For two or three years before his death the first Niẓām maintained amicable relations with the Peshwā. Nāṣir Jung, the successor of the first Niẓām, obtained help from the Peshwā in his campaign

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against Muẓaffar Jung and Chundā Ṣāhib in the Arkāṭ district. After the accession of Salābut Jung in 1751, the first breach of peace took place. On the plea that the Peshwā's remittances received from the north were being plundered by the Niẓām's subjects, Nānā Ṣāhib attacked the Niẓām's dominions. The real reason was something else. With the battalions trained by M. Bussy and superior artillery, the Niẓām has suddenly become too strong for any Indian power in the 18th century. The result was apparent in the first campaign of the Peshwā Nānā Ṣāhib against Salābut Jung. The Marathas were galled by the terrific fire of Bussy's artillery. In the battle of Kukḍi, on the day of the lunar eclipse, 21st November, 1751, the Peshwā's camp including his portable household gods and golden utensils of worship were captured by Mughals. After two or three skirmishes the Peshwā was compelled to sue for peace. Rajwade says that the Peshwā obtained territories yielding four lakhs of rupees, but Sardesai is compelled to admit that there is no evidence in support of this statement. Baffled in direct warfare Nānā Ṣāhib took to intrigue. He ordered his agents at Delhi, the Śinde and the Hoḷkar, to persuade G-hāzī-ud-dīn II, the eldest son of Niẓām-ul-Mulk Aṣaf Jāh, to return to the Deccan and to contest *Niẓāmat* of the Deccan. G-hāzī-ud-dīn fell into the trap and started with the permission of the Mughal Emperor Ahmad Shāh. He was escorted by Maratha troops. The Peshwā advanced against Salābut Jung from the south-west, Jānojī Bhonsle from the north and Śinde and Hoḷkar from the north-west. G-hāzī ud-dīn II agreed to cede the country between the Tāptī and the Godāvarī, lying to the west of Berar, to the Peshwā as consideration for Maratha aid and was then poisoned at Aurangabad by his step-mother on the 13th October, 1752. Salābut Jung made his own position secure by confirming the cession of the Tāptī valley, the present East and West Khandesh districts of the Bombay Presidency (Treaty of Bhalki, November, 1752). In Nānā Ṣāhib's

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third campaign against the Niẓām he was more fortunate than the first. The growing jealousy of M. Bussy of the Indian Musalman party in the court of the Niẓām was fostered by Maratha intrigue. During the temporary retirement of M. Bussy, Nānā Ṣāhib seized the opportunity to molest the Niẓām. This is known as the campagin of Sindkheḍā. Sardesai admits that contemporary papers, containing accounts of this campaign, are not available, but states that the Peshwā's intentions were to support the Niẓām after expelling Bussy. Eighteenth century avowals of such pious intentions should be accepted with great caution and the real intentions of the Peshwā became apparent after the battle of Kharda in 1795 when the Marathas alienated the Niẓām for ever and paved the way for their own destruction. In the third campaign, Rāmcandra Jādhav, the son of Candrasen Jādhav, fought with Dattājī Śinde and took shelter in the fort of Sindkheḍā. Niẓām 'Alī, the younger brother of Salābut Jung came to the rescue of Rāmcandra. As usual, with the campaigns of Nānā Ṣāhib, this also did not produce any decisive result. The Niẓām ceded territories yielding 25 lakhs of rupees and the fort of Naldurg. The fourth and last campaign against the Niẓām was undertaken after the departure of Bussy and most of his French Officers, upon the arrival of Comte de Lally as the Commandant-General of French troops in India. On the eve of the ill-fated campaign of Panipat, the Peshwā declared war against the Niẓām and determined to conquer the remnants of Mughal dominions in the Deccan. The pretext was the non-delivery of territories promised in the treaty of Sindkheḍā in 1757. The Niẓām's condition was desperate. Salābut Jung, the *de jure* Niẓām, was powerless. The controlling authority in the state was his brother Niẓām 'Alī. Most of the musalman officers were traitors and Niẓām 'Alī had already determined to set his brother aside. Cognisant of all these facts Nānā Ṣāhib determined to conquer the Niẓām's dominions. Sadāśiv Rāo captured a fort near Peḍgāon and invaded the Niẓām's

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dominions near Udgīr. Totally oblivious of the impending disaster in the north, due to the disagreement between Dattājī Śinde and Malhar Rāo Holkar, Nānā Ṣāhib launched into this campaign from which he had to withdraw hastily in spite of complete success. Caught between superior Maratha troops on the road between Ausā and Dhārūr, to the east of Solāpur, Niẓām 'Alī had to sue for peace. But terrible news had now reached the Maratha camp from the north and the entire resources of the Maratha state were required in the Punjab. Niẓām 'Alī ceded territories yielding 60 lakhs of rupees with the forts of Asīrgaḍh, Daulatābād, Burhānpur and Bījāpur[1] and saved the Niẓām's state from total extinction.

During the second part of his regime also, the Peshwā Nānā Ṣāhib was very busy in plundering the helpless Hindu states of the Kanarese country to the south of the Tuṅgabhadrā and the Kṛṣṇā. A chronic deficiency in his budget compelled him to raise funds by plunder. The share of revenue to which he was entitled from Maratha possessions in Mālwā and Hindustān was never regularly remitted. His neglect of the affairs of Northern India encouraged his subordinates to be irregular in their payments and interminable bickerings ensued regarding settlement of accounts. One of the principal sources of revenue of the Maratha state was occasional blackmail, called "Khaṇḍanī" in Marathi as distinguished from the regular types of blackmail such as "Cauth," "Sardeśmukhī" and "Ghāsdānā." The Hindu states of the Karnatak districts were made subject to occasional blackmail during eight campaigns led by the Marathas in the South from 1755 to 1760. In 1747 Sadāśiv Rāo Bhāu compelled the Āfghan Nawāb of Sāvānur to cede half of his territories. Nānā Ṣāhib advanced as far as Seringapatan in January 1753. Next year he raided Bagalkot in the

1 *Nijām-śāhīchā apakarsh—Marāṭhi Riyāsat, Madhya Bibhāg, pp. 326-407.*

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Bijāpur district and Hoskot, Harihar and Bednur in the modern state of Mysore. Another war with Sāvānur took place about the employment of Muẓaffar K-hān Gārdī by the Nawāb in which Bussy and his French troops took a more prominent part than the Marathas. Sāvānur agreed to pay 11 lakhs and ceded portions of Miśrikoṭā, Kuṇḍgol and Hublī, with the fort of Bañkāpur. This was the beginning of an attempt on the part of the Marathas to acquire territory in the Karnatak proper. In January, 1757, the Peshwā and Sadāśiv Rāo invaded the Hindu state of Mysore and besieged Seringapatan. Negotiations ensued and it was agreed that the siege should be raised upon a cash payment of five lakhs and the pledging of the revenues of fourteen Mahals by the *Daḷavay* or Commander-in-chief, Nandarāja, to the Peshwā. In these fourteen Mahals or *parganās*, the Peshwā appointed his agent Balavant Rāo Mehendale as Governor. Subsequent operations in the Karnatak were entrusted to Balavant Rāo Mehendale, Gopāl Rāo Paṭvardhan and Malhār Rāo Rāste. The fourteen Mahals or *parganās* were reoccupied by the Mysoreans upon the rise of Ḥaidar. With his disciplined troops and fine artillery Ḥaidar 'Alī compelled Gopāl Rāo Paṭvardhan to retire with a promise of 32 lakhs of rupees. All claims to the fourteen Mahals were given up at this time. Maratha aggression in Mysore territory became impossible after 1760. Gopāl Rāo was recalled on the eve of Panipat and the rising Maratha leader Visājī Kṛṣṇa Vinīvāle had also to be recalled in January, 1761.[1] Thus ended Maratha operations in the extreme south of the Deccan plateau before the end of the regime of Nānā Ṣāhib.

In order to understand the position of Maratha affairs in Northern India, it would be necessary to go back to the last year of the regime of Bājī Rāo I or Bājī Rāo Ballāl.

1 *Ibid.*, *pp.* 408-30

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The invasion of Nādir Shāh and the great Mughal disaster at Karṇāl had caused Bājī Rāo to proceed to the North. Niẓām-ul-Mulk I had advised Muḥammad Shāh to retire southwards from Delhi and defend the rest of the empire with the help of the Marathas after the battle of Karnal, but the treachery of Sā'adat Khān *Burhān-ul-Mulk* of Oudh enabled Nādir Shāh to capture the emperor and to march to Delhi.[1] The Marathas intended to defend the line of the Narmadā if the Persians attempted to proceed southwards. The retirement of Nādir Shāh from Delhi removed all apprehensions from the minds of the Marathas and for the next twenty years they were left free to attack and conquer as they liked throughout Hindustān. After the retirement of Niẓām-ul-Mulk I from Delhi in 1741 the affairs of the state of Haiderabad were managed with much greater efficiency and the Peshwā Nānā Ṣāhib was requested by the Emperor Muḥammad Shāh to interfere in the affairs of Bengal. Ābu'l Manṣūr Khān, *Ṣafdar Jung* and the Peshwā marched to Bengal to save the Ṣubāhdār 'Ālīwardī Khān from the clutches of Raghujī Bhonsle I. Nānā Ṣāhib marched through Allahabad, Benares and Gaya to Murshidābād, where he met 'Ālīwardī in 1743. The only object which prompted Nānā Ṣāhib to invade Bengal was to revenge himself on Raghujī for the part he had played in trying to exclude him from the Peshwāship in 1740. Nānā Ṣāhib failed to make any impression on Raghujī and in the long run was compelled to accede to Raghujī's demand to have the entire country from Lucknow to Lower Bengal and Berār to Orissa as his own particular zone of influence. Thus the way was paved for the virtual independence of the Bhonsles of Nagpur. In the result of this campaign we find the true index to the political career of the Peshwā Nānā Ṣāhib. Maratha historians say that the idea of the foundation of a Hindu empire (*Hindu-pad-Pādśāhī*) in India was for ever present

1 Irvine, *Later Mughals, vol. ii, p. 356.*

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in his mind. The events of Nānā Ṣāhib's reign prove that this idea was rapidly receding from his mind. The Maratha king was fast becoming a helpless puppet. Therefore it became necessary for the virtual head of the Maratha state to assert himself and to uproot all minor members who exhibited any "centrifugal tendency." To found a Hindu empire in India at the close of the first half of the 18th century, it was necessary in the first instance to crush all opposition within the Hindu state itself and to make it united instead of following the usual Maratha maxim "Do not change the old, do not make anything new." Bālājī Bājī Rāo failed to do so not only in the case of Raghujī Bhonsle I, but also in the case of Damājī Gāikvāḍ and Tārā Bāi after the death of Śāhu. In order to break the power of the Cittapāvan Brāhmaṇas, Tārā Bāi persuaded the imbecile Śāhu to adopt her own grandson Rām Rājā, so that she may assume the chief direction of affairs. The new king was a weakling and the redoubtable Tārā Bāi seized 'Azamtārā fort at Satara with her own men and imprisoned Rām Rājā in it. Nānā Sāhib had not the courage to reduce the fort and liberate the king. From Satara, Tārā Bāi tried her best to induce the great Maratha chieftains to come to her aid and drive out the hated Brāhmaṇa minister. Damājī Gāikvāḍ came at her invitation in 1751, but he allowed himself to be caught in a trap and succeeded in securing his liberty by promising the Peshwā a half share in the revenues of Gujārat (1752). Even then Nānā Ṣāhib had not the courage to stamp out all opposition, assume the title of king and imprison Tārā Bāi with her grandson. This remarkable lady was far more able, courageous and far-sighted than the Peshwā Nānā Ṣāhib. When she found out that Rām Rājā was useless to her she declared him to be an impostor. Rām Rājā remained in prison from 1750 till March 1763, when Mādhav Rāo I liberated him and gave him a few villages for his maintenance. In failing to effect drastic changes in the Maratha government Nānā Ṣāhib showed that he was

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not a worthy successor of his father and grandfather. The time was ripe for such a change, but Nānā Ṣāhib was too indolent and too conservative to take advantage of it. The only great Maratha chieftain whom he destroyed was Tulājī Āṅgre. This was done in conjunction with the English East India Company and served only to destroy the naval power of the Maratha nation and to place the forts and ports of the Konkan coastland at the mercy of a nation of aggressive foreigners.

After 1743 there was a deliberate neglect of the affairs of Hindustān on the part of Peshwā. No member of the Bhaṭ family crossed the Jumna between 1743 and 1753. The retirement of Bāji Rāo I from the neighbourhood of Delhi was followed 15 years later by the first campaign of Raghunāth Rāo, Dādā Ṣāhib and in this interval the affairs of the Mughal empire and its nominally subordinate provinces shaped a definite course for themselves which finally led to the Maratha disaster at Panipat in 1761 and the crushing Musalman defeats of Gharia and Buxar in 1764-65. This neglect of the affairs of Hindustān was the real cause of the foundation of the independent Maratha states of Gwalior and Indore and the consequent alienation of all Rajput states from the Maratha alliance. It was also the cause of the rally of the remaining Musalman states under the banner of Ahmad Shāh 'Abdālī. The absence of the Peshwā or any other member of his family from Hindustān for nearly 15 years and the creation of the strong buffer state of the Bhonsles of Nagpur helped the English to consolidate themselves in the United Provinces, Bihar and Bengal without any interference from the Marathas. The confusion in the affairs of the Central Government enabled Jānojī and his successors to cultivate the good will of the English. After 1764 they were afraid of the English East India Company. They were apprehensive of loosing Orissa, because it was hemmed in between two British provinces, Bengal in the north and Madras in the south. When the

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Marathas tried to interfere in the affairs of the English East India Company from the west, Malhar Rāo Hoḷkar found British artillery too terrible and destructive for his undisciplined troops and the emperor Shāh 'Alam II and his *de jure* Wazīr firm in the clutches of his adversaries.

Therefore when the last struggle for suzerainty in Hindustān came, the idea of founding a Hindu empire in India must have vanished from the minds of the Peshwā and all Maratha statesmen. When the Ābdālī appeared in force on the north-western Frontier, the Niẓām of the Deccan was too weak to help him, but other Musalman chiefs of Northern India hastened to join his standard; although Shuja'-ud-daulah was half-hearted. On the other side, the Peshwā had very little direct control on his so-called sub-agents in the North. The treachery of Malhar Rāo Hoḷkar at the battle of Panipat, the unprepared condition of Delhi and Agra to stand a siege and the absence of Maratha bases in the country to the north of the Chambal showed that the Peshwā Nānā Ṣāhib was as unprepared for the 'Ābdālī as the Mughal emperor Muhammad Shāh had been for Nādir Shāh. This condition of supineness and laxity was revealed not only by the absence of stores and depots over the vast length of the road from Gwalior to Attock, but also by the selection of the commanders. Instead of commanding in person, the Peshwā sent his cousin Sadāśiv Rāo Bhāu, who had never set his foot in Northern India in his life and who had no conception of the nature of the country, its peoples, their manners and customs and mode of warfare. The Bhāu Ṣāhib was used to the narrow valleys of the Deccan, its splendid hill-forts and guerilla warfare, but he had never seen a large river like the Jumna or the Sutlej or vast plains like the Ganges-Jamuna-Doab or Hariana. Raghunāth Rāo, who was as young as his cousin, had some experience of campaigning in the Doab and the Punjab, but he had been found guilty of wasting the funds of the Maratha State in his previous campaigns. The rejection of Raghunāth Rāo and the selec-

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tion of Sadāśiv Rāo Bhāu proves that the Peshwā Nānā Ṣāhib had no conception of the danger threatening the Maratha Empire when he sent Sadāśiv Rāo, with his eldest son Viśvās Rāo, to the North. For years the Maratha agents at the court of Delhi had been urging the Peshwā to send a member of his family to the North to settle the differences between the houses of the Śinde and Hoḷkar and to bring Govind Pant Bundele to a more reasonable frame of mind. It was also necessary to secure the flank of Maratha armies passing by the road from Burhampur to Gwalior, by securing a firmer adherence of the Jāṭhs of Bharatpur and the great Rajput Princes by saving them from the constant oppressions of the Śinde and Hoḷkar. In all of these cases the immobility of the Peshwā Nānā Ṣāhib led him to commit blunders and thus to secure the victory for the Musalmans.

By early training Nānā Ṣāhib was incapable of taking a wider and more liberal view of the affairs of Northern India. It was not possible for him to make long and rapid marches like his father or to keep the subordinate chiefs under strict control. He sent the richest tents, the best caparisoned elephants and horses and all heavy impedimenta, which the Marathas had plundered from the Mughals, with Viśvās Rāo and Sadāśiv Rāo in 1760. These impedimenta made it impossible for the Maratha army to move swiftly in the comparatively barren flat sandy plains of the southern Punjab and clogged the wheels of the Maratha army as much as it had done in the case of Muhammad Shāh and his three great commanders, Niẓām-ul-Mulk I, Ṣamṣām-ud-daulah and Sa'adat Khān. The result was precisely the same. The Maratha commanders were caught in the net of the Musalman armies. Even their modern artillery under Ibrāhīm Khān Gārdī failed to give them the necessary relief. The great Maratha host with its clumsy furniture and accoutrements was obliged to entrench itself and to be starved like rats. The great defeat of the Maratha army at Panipat was entirely due to demoralisation and to treachery.

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Peshwā Bālājī Rāo was brought up by his grandmother Rādhā Bāi, the widow of Bālājī Viśvanāth Bhaṭ, a lady of extremely orthodox views. Rādhā Bāi was always afraid of her grand-sons turning unorthodox like her own son Bājī Rāo I. Bājī Rāo's love affair with Mastānī had filled the minds of the conservative and orthodox Deccani Brāhmaṇas with horror and thenceforward was introduced the pernicious custom of sending the ladies of the Bhaṭ family with its princes and the commanders even on the most distant campaign. Kāśī Bāi, the mother of Nānā Ṣāhib, was in camp near Raver where Bājī Rāo died in April, 1740. Pārvatī Bāi, the wife of Sadāśiv Rāo, narrowly escaped capture after the battle of Panipat. The mother or step-mother of Nānā Faḍnīs was captured by the Afghans, while his wife escaped. The same idea of narrow orthodoxy impelled the central government at Poona to send costly but heavy camp-furniture with the princes in all campaigns. The household gods and the utensils of worship of Nānā Ṣāhib were captured by the troops of Bussy after the battle of Kukḍi near the Ghod river on the Ahmadnagar-Poona road.

Bālājī Bājī Rāo was not trained in the terribly hard but efficient school of the first Bājī Rāo. He remained at home and went on safe campaigns near at home. He accompanied the imbecile Śāhu in his infamous campaign against Miraj and was sent to the Western Coast near Bombay immediately before his father's death. Nānā Ṣāhib's experience of active military operations amounted to nothing. He was not a dashing cavalry leader like his father and was totally averse to long and troublesome journeys. His absence from the military headquarters in Northern India from 1753 to 1761 was the real cause of the great disaster at Panipat, the subsequent independence of the Śindes and the Holkars and the dissatisfaction felt throughout Northern India at the predatory habits of Maratha armies. His conservatism prevented the Maratha army from being upto-date in disciplined troops and artillery and it was not till

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the days of Bājī Rāo II that the Peshwā possessed such troops. The decline in the military spirit of Maratha people, so noticeable in 1803, began from this time. Like the Peshwā, the great Maratha Mānkarīs now loved to stay at home rather than pass two or three years in a single campaign. The Maratha peasantry gradually became averse to warfare. Everybody was prerpared to go out on a short campaign for five or six months in the Niẓām's dominions or the Karṇaṭak, to return home at the end of the summer, but nobody wanted to go to the great hot plains of Hindustān, to march long distances by road and to be detained there even after the rains. The Peshwā might have set the example to his Mānkarīs and troops but he was more afraid of leaving his home, the soft climate of the Western Deccan and the pleasures of his palace, than anybody else. He avoided the contact of Musalman women, but he did not object to marrying a young girl a few months before his death. Arabs were the earliest mercenaries employed by Peshwās, the Gāikvaḍs and Bhonsles. Pardeshis or "Bhāiyās", i.e., people of Northern India filled Maratha armies gradually. We find quite a number of them implicated in the murder of Peshwā Nārāyaṇ Rāo under the orders of his uncle Raghunāth Rāo. In 1803, the Maratha soldier had practically ceased to exist and the great battles of Daulat Rāo Śinde and Jaśvant Rāo Hoḷkar with the English East India Company were fought between Hindustānī Sepoys and Hindustānī Sepoys and not between Marathas and European troops.

The stay-at-home habit of the Mughal Emperors from Jahāndār to Shāh 'Alam II had turned them into puppets in the hands of their own officers. With their example before his eyes, Nānā Ṣāhib introduced principles into his armies and Government which made his successors mere tools in the hands of their ministers and generals. His own love for his home destroyed all chances of founding a Hindu empire in India instead of fostering the growth of the structure laboriously built up by his father. After 1761 the efforts

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of the central Maratha Government to control the affairs of Northern India were sporadic and ceased with the death of Mādhav Rāo I. Mahadjī Śinde still professed to be the Peshwā's agent and general and obtained reinforcements at times from Poona ; but this state of affairs lasted for a short time only till he stood on his own legs and found means to recapture Delhi and with it the blind emperor Shāh 'Alam II.

The military spirit of the Maratha nation was already on the decline. The *Gārdīs* (Gardes) were almost entirely recruited from Hindustānī Hindus and Musalmans. Out of 13 *Gārdīs* implicated in the murder of Peshwā Nārāyaṇ Rāo Ballāl, 8 Hindus and 5 Musalmans, *all* were Hindustānīs.[1]

Even in the lifetime of Nānā Ṣāhib the Maratha army had become absolutey unfit to conduct sieges in the Deccan, and in the majority of cases Maratha generals were compelled to bribe Musalman *Qillādārs* to surrender their charges. The almost impregnable fort of Ahmadnagar was obtained by bribing the *Qillādār* Kawī Jung. This famous fort struck its flag because Kawī Jung surrendered it without firing a shot on receipt of a *jāgīr* worth fifty thousand rupees annually. At the conclusion of the campaign of Udgīr, the forts of Āsirgaḍh, Daulatābād, Bījāpur and Burhānpūr were surrendered by the Niẓām to the Peshwā Nānā Ṣāhib. Gopāl Rāo Paṭvardhan was sent to take charge of Daulatābād and Bacyājī Pant Barbe of Burhānpūr. Gopāl Rāo failed to make any impression on Daulatābād and bribed the *Qillādār* to surrender the fort by paying one lakh and fifteen thousand rupees and a *jāgīr* worth thirty five thousand rupees annually. It is true that the Peshwā Nānā Ṣāhib was angry at this liberality, but the wily Gopāl Rāo pacified him by showing him the formidable defences of this celebrated stronghold of the Yādavas. In his own way the Peshwā

1 *Marathi Riyasat, Madhya Bibhag, part IV, p. 341.*

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Nānā Ṣāhib was a good revenue specialist and a strict administrator of the civil government. His revenue arrrangements of the *Desh* was followed by early British revenue officials and his reign was long quoted as the ideal period of Brāhmaṇ administration. But he was absolutely unfit to lead the great Maratha nation at the time of its greatest need when another Śvijāī or Bājī Rāo Ballāl was required to attain the long dreamt of goal of *Hindupad-Pādśāhī.*

R. D. Banerji

Nambi Āṇḍār Nambi*

In South India Śaivaism had an impetus from the Pallavas during the middle ages. Saint Tirugñānasambandhar and Saint Tirunāvukkarasu were contemporaries though there was disparity in their years. The latter was an octogenarian and the former a mere boy when he attracted the wondering admiration of the people. Their strenuous fight contributed much to the downfall of Jainism and Buddhism—the religions of the day. Later on, St. Sundara appeared on the scene and firmly established the Śaiva religion. Vaiṣṇavism also captured the imagination of the people and the school of Bhakti taught by the Vaiṣṇava Ālwars completely shattered the mighty growth of Jainism in the Tamil land. Personal influence which the saints exercised during their lifetime continued in all its vigour unabated even after their demise. Their sweet musical strains had an irresistible charm and the people were so captivated by them that they were not able to forget them easily for a long time to come. The Pallava sovereigns and their Cola successors

* A paper sent to the Oriental Conference, Lahore.

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made provision for the recitation of these sacred songs in the temples.

St. Appar alias Tirunāvukkarasu was the first apostle of the Śaiva revival. He was a native of Tiruvamoor near Panrutti, S.I. He became an orphan at a very early age, and was dependent on his only widowed sister. This sister was betrothed to a Śaiva devotee who went to war against the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and lost his life in the battle-field. She wanted to commit *Suttee*, but owing to the importunities of her brother became a nun and devoted herself to the service of Śiva. When Appar came of age and learnt the tenets of various religions, he was fascinated by the philosophy of Jainism and became a convert to that religon. He was anointed, assumed the name Dharmasena and became the head of a Jaina monastery. While a Jain, he was suddenly afflicted by an excruciating pain in the stomach, which remained uncured in spite of the best ministrations of his co-religionists. His sister heard of this and requested him to repair to Thiruvatikai where the pain he was suffering from miraculously disappeared. He forsook his adopted religion and re-entered the fold of Śaivaism. The Jains were furious. They plotted against his life and induced the king to torture him in many ways. But Appar remained firm to the last. He was thereafter canonised under the name of Tirunāvukkarasu and his extant hymns are divided into three volumes. About this time, there appeared a child at Shiyali (Sirkali). From now till he attained salvation in his sixteenth year, he was pouring forth his inner thoughts in fine melodious songs. These poems of Sambandhar were collected into three volumes. The poems of the later saint Sundara, son of an Arcaka of Tirunavalur, were also collected and made into a volume.

The then king Rāja-rāja Abhaya Kulaśekhara, a Śaiva devotee tried to collect all these songs but failed in his efforts. At this time, one Nambi Āṇḍār Nambi whose family God was Lord Vināyaka, came to fame by his devotion. His fame spread

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far and wide and reached the ears of the king, who utilised the opportunity to fulfil his long-felt desire. Immediately a royal march was proclaimed, the king camped at Tirunāraiyūr with his retinue, and begged to be informed where he could find all the songs of the Tevaram hymnists. Through the help of Nambi Āṇḍār Nambi, the collection was found, in a sealed room behind Naṭarāja in the golden hall at Cidambaram. Of course, many portions were destroyed by the ants. There were 384 hymns of St. Gñāna Sambandha, 307 of St. Appar and 100 of St. Sundara. The king with the assistance of the Assembly settled these hymns into seven volumes corresponding to the seven holy mantras. He further requested the Assembly to collect all the other Śaiva works and form them into separate books. Nambi Āṇḍār Nambi was to narrate in detail the history of the 63 canonised saints. Nambi gave a succinct history of all the canonised saints and called it Tiruttondar Tiruvantāti. It contains 86 stanzas in all, 58 stanzas on 58 individual saints, 11 on Sundara, 2 on each of the four saints, Sambhanda, Appar, Ceramān and Cocceṅkaṇṇān and 9 on Tokaiyatiyārs. Sekkilar the historian of the 63 saints based his work on this poem and the Tevaram Hymns.

The Age of Nambi

The author of the 'Life of St. Nambi Āṇḍār Nambi,'—St. Umāpati Śivam—mentions that all these took place during the time of one Rāja-rāja Abhaya Kulaśekhara. The title of Abhaya is a common one and from this title it is impossible to find out the real name of the king. So also is Kulaśekhara. Yet some significance may be attached to the latter word. Later Pāṇḍyas and Ceras had this title. Very few Cola kings seem to bear this name so far as inscriptional evidence goes. The word Kulaśekhara, as it is, conveys the meaning "the best of the race." In the Ānaimaṅgalam copper-plates, otherwise called Leiden Grants, it is found

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that Āditya Karikāla possessed this title in addition to Rāja-rāja. Lines 55 and 56 read thus :—

Karikālānyanāmānam Ādityam udapīpadat
Rājarājañ ca rājendro ravivaṃśa-śikhāmaṇiḥ.

"He, the Indra of kings (Parantaka) begot Āditya, Rāja-rāja, also called Karikāla, the crest-jewel of the Cola family." Vaṃśa and Kula are synonymous and so is Śikhāmaṇi and Śekhara. So Vaṃśaśikhāmaṇi may be equated with Kulaśekhara. Here we have got a clear indication of one and the same king Āditya holding the titles Rāja-rāja, Vaṃśaśikhāmaṇi or Kulaśekhara. According to historians, Rāja-rāja I, the builder of that great temple at Tanjore, Rāja-rāja II, and Rāja-rāja III bear the same name. The second and the third Rāja-rāja are said to have reigned in the 12th and 13th centuries long posterior to Sekkilar, the author of Periyapuraṇam. They need not be considered here. As to Rāja-rāja I, he is called Mummudi Cola according to an inscription found at Triuvadi and Arunmoli-varman according to Tiruvalangadu plates (stanza 61, S.I.I., iii, p. 420). The Ānaimaṅgalam plates call him Rāja-rāja Rājakeśarin which is corroborated by many an inscription published and unpublished. Another point is that none of these kings, Rāja-rāja I to III bear the name Āditya. Though this name Āditya is not found in the settlement of the canon, yet it is mentioned in the Tiruvantāti of Nambi. We read in stanza 50 that Pukalcola is the ancestor of the ruler Āditya who laid waste Ceylon. Stanza 65 states that the king Idangali is the ancestor of Āditya who gilded Cidambaram temple. Another stanza (no. 82) specifically mentions that he was a devotee of Naṭarāja, gilded the temple and breathed his last there. From these we have to find a king

(i) who bore the name of Āditya,

(ii) who should have gilded Ponnambalam or Cidambara temple with gold,

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(iii) who should have waged war against the Pāṇḍyas and Siṃhalas, and

(iv) who should also have the titles of Rāja-rāja and Kulaśekhara.

If a king is found to satisfy all these four conditions, the age of Nambi Āṇḍār Nambi can be acertained.

Who is this King?

In the Cola chronology, we have only two Ādityas. One is Āditya I, son of Vijayālaya. The second is Āditya II Karikāla son of Sundara Cola—Parantaka. The former reigned between the years 880 and 907 A.C. The inscriptions found till now do not show that he ever waged war against the Pāṇḍyas or crossed the seas to fight against the Ceylonese. References to such works as *Kalingattu Parani*, *Muvarmulas* and *Śaṅkara colan ulā* bear this out. All his energies were spent in defeating the Pallavas in the north and stabilising the Cola suzerainty. Ānaimaṅgalam plates, Tiruvālaṅgādu plates and Kanniyakumari inscriptions too support the above view. He did not possess the title of Rāja-rāja. The only king therefore that remains to be considered is Āditya II.

Gilding of Ponnambalam

We have to confess that we have not come across with any inscriptional evidence regarding the gilding of the Cidambaram temple by Āditya II. The late Mr. V. Kanasabai Pillai has noted that Āditya I gilded the Cidambaram temple, but this is unsupported by reliable historical evidence. In stanza 17 of the Ānaimaṅgalam plates (A.P.) Parantaka I is credited with having gilded the Cidambaram temple. The three ulās of Ottakūttan go to confirm this. After him, Vikramacola and his successors on the throne gilded Ponnambalam, which is borne out both by literature and by inscriptions. The epigraphical records available in South India have not all been copied and even those collected

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up-to-date have not all been published. So we have to rely on the available literary evidence alone. The *Tiruttondar Tiruvantāti* positively says that a Cola king named Āditya gilded Ponnambalam and if all other facts known to us about Āditya II agree with the descriptions found in Nambi's reference, then we may take it that it was he who is referred to as having gilded the golden hall at Cidambaram.

War against the Pāṇḍyas and Siṃhalas

Āditya II is described in inscriptions as "He who took, the head of Vīra Pāṇḍya" (Pāṇḍyan Talaikonda Kopparakesari Varmarkku Yaṇṭu 2; Pāṇḍyan Talaikonda Kopparakesari Varmarkku Yaṇṭu 4; Pāṇḍyan Talaikonda Koparakkesari Varmaṛkku Yaṇṭu four Nāl 170; Vīrapāṇḍyan Talaikonda Kopparakesarivarmarkku Yaṇṭu 4). From these it is clear that he waged war with the then Pāṇḍyas. In the A.P. it is said that Āditya played in a battle with Vīra Pāṇḍya like a young lion knowing the strength of an elephant in rut. This Vīra Pāṇḍya was driven into the forests and then into Ceylon by Āditya's father Sundara Cola—Parantaka. He sent an expedition to Ceylon in the first instance and then went there himself shortly after. Mahāvaṃsa, chap. LIV supports, the statement that the Ceylonese king had a fight with Vallabha 'Parantaka,' the Cola king. It is not unusual for the prince to follow his father to the battle-field and exhibit his valour to his countrymen. So, in all probability, Āditya accompanied his father to Ceylon and waged war against the Ceylonese king, as stated in the Tiruvantāti. Perhaps he even commanded the army.

His Titles

From the A.P. it has already been shown that he is given the title of Rāja-rāja and Kulaśekhara. Rājendra, son of Gangaikonda Cola, was anointed with the title of Rāja-rāja

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(vide S. I. I., iii, no. 29). He was engaged in a war with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. The Southern portion of the Peninsula enjoyed peace and prosperity at the time. Moreover, he is nowhere said to have assumed the title of Vaṁśaśekhara. As regards the others who had the title of Rāja-rāja, they did not bear the name of Āditya. The only king who satisfies all the historical data mentioned above is Āditya II Karikāla who took the head of Vīra Pāṇḍya.

(*To be continued*)

SOMASUNDARA DESIKAR

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The Maitrakas of Valabhi
(C. 500 A.C.—770 A.C.)

Introduction.

The *Maitrakas*, a family or a tribe of people, established themselves first as feudal lords and then as independent kings, in the town of Valabhi (modern Vaḷeh) in Gujerat during the early years of the 6th century of the Christian era and were in power up till late in the middle of the eighth century. They had a considerable part of the whole of the peninsula under their control and from time to time their conquest extended up to Western Malwa in the east, Broach and even Surāṣtra in the south.

The study of the subject.

The history of this dynasty, which has often been miscalled as the dynasty of the Valabhis,[1] forms by itself a chapter of considerable importance in the early history of Western India. Their ethnic and historic origin, their numberless copper-plate inscriptions, their relations with contemporary sovereigns and administrative capacities and functions have all contributed to make their history an interesting and instructive study. It was in the year 1806 that A. M. T. Jackson for the first time dealt with the subject at some length in the Gujerat Volume of the *Bombay Gazetteer*.[2] He

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1 A. M. T. Jackson's account in the Guzerat Volume of the *Bombay Gazetteer* uniformly calls the dynasty of the Maitrakas as the Valabhi dynasty. Valabhi was the capital of the dynasty of the Maitrakas and had nothing to do with the naming of the dynasty as the Valabhi dynasty. We do not call the dynasty of the Mauryas as the Pāṭaliputra dynasty or that of the Chetas as the Kaliṅga dynasty. The Maitrakas did not also take the name of the capital as a part of their royal name like the Ghori dynasty that had its capital at Ghor. The mistake was due to the fact that originally the kings of Valabhi were represented as apart from the Maitrakas, whom Bhaṭārka, the ancestor of the Valabhi kings, defeated and gained glory. This has been proved to be a mistake ; it has been shown that Bhaṭārka himself belonged to the clan of the Maitrakas, so that it is proper to call the dynasty the Maitraka dynasty and not the Valabhi dynasty.

2 *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. I., pt. I., chap. VIII, pp. 78-106—The Valabhis.

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had to depend on materials collected by the late Pandit Bhagawan Lal Indraji. The account was, however, vitiated by certain radical errors owing to dearth of materials as well as to incorrect reading of some inscriptions. More than a quarter of a century has elapsed after that, and Indian historical research in the meantime has made an astonishing progress, but the history of the dynasty has not as yet received the attention nor the faithful interpretation it deserves in the hands of the students of Indian History. The purpose of this paper is to draw the attention of scholars to the history of this dynasty and to make the antiquated accounts of Indraji and Jackson more accurate and up-to-date.

Sources.

The only historical sources from which an account of the dynasty can be gatherd are the copper-plate charters of the rulers, and their number is legion. These charters had invariably been issued to make grants of land to private individuals or to Brāhmaṇical and Buddhist establishments; their language is high-flown sanskrit prose of the classical period, full of ornamental phraseology and figures of speech. But they furnish us with very little historical data. Yet they help us to build up a correct genealogical table, and from incidental notices we can form an idea of the extension of the Maitraka dominion, their system of administration and the state of religion in Western India during the Maitraka supremacy. The information contained in these grants is, however, supplemented by the contemporary notice of Yuan Chwang and, in one or two instances, by the records of contemporary dynasties. It is to be noted that a dynasty which ruled for about 250 years over a considerable portion of Western India never thought of recording their achievements on stone. The fact should not cause any surprise; for, with one or two exceptions, up till the 9th century of the Christian era, all over Gujerat and Kathiawad, brick and wood were the only materials used in temples and religious edifices; and stone as a permanent material was not in vogue.[1]

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1 'Stories on record about two temples, one at Śatruñjaya and the other at Somanātha, support this view. As regards the Śatruñjaya temple the tradition is that when the minister Kumārapāla (A.C. 1143-74) of Anhilwara was on a visit to Śatruñjaya to worship in the temple, of Ādinātha, the wick of the lamp of the shrine was removed by mice, and set on fire and almost destroyed the whole temple which was wholly built of wood. The minister seeing the danger of wooden

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Valabhi.

The capital of the old Valabhi kingdom is represented by the modern site of Vaḷeh, situated in the east of Kathiawaḍ, twenty miles west of Bhavnagar and twenty-five miles north of the holy Jaina hill, Śatruñjaya. The ruins of Vaḷeh consist of vast mounds and foundations of brick, amidst which have also been discovered clay seals inscribed with the well-known Buddhist formula, *'ye dharmā hetuprabhavāḥ.'* It is difficult to ascertain whether Sanskrit *Valabhi* was the original name or *Vaḷeh* is a corruption of the Prakrit form *Valabhi.* Once situated on the coast line of the peninsula, it is strange that Valabhi or Valahi never finds mention in the *Periplus* or in *Ptolemy*[1] who are both eloquent about Broach and Surat ; nor is it mentioned in the early Sanskrit or Pali texts, or in any of the early records. *Jinaprabha Sūri,* a learned Jaina monk of the 13th century, describes the holy Jaina hill of Śatruñjaya as being situated in the *Valāhaka* province, so that it seems that he was familiar with the Prakrit form *Valahi.* The Sanskrit form *Valabhi* is found in the *Kathāsaritsāgara,* which, though comparatively a very late work, treats of very ancient materials.

Maitrakas—their relation with Valabhi.

As to the connection of the kings of Valabhi with the Maitrakas, opinions differ. The Valabhi grants usually begin with the words—

"Oṃ Svasti Valabhitaḥ prasabha-praṇat=āmitrāṇāṃ Maitrakāṇāṃ atula-bala-saṃpanna-maṇḍala-bhoga-samsakta-samprahāraśata-labdha-pratāpaḥ pratāp=opanata-dāna-mān=ārjjav=opārajjit=ānurāg = ānurakta-maula-bhṛta-mitra-śreṇi-bal=āvāpta-rājyaśrīḥ parama-māheśvaraḥ Śrī-senāpati-Bhaṭārkaḥ."

It took a long time to recognise that 'Maitrakāṇāṃ' is the genitive of a proper name, 'Maitraka'. Mr. Mandlik, who made this suggestion,[2] translated the passage as 'Bhaṭārka had achieved success in hundreds of battles occurring in the wide extent of territories of the Maitrakas who

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edifices determined to erect a stone one'. (Tradition as recorded in the *Kumārapālacarita* ; *Bom. Gaz.,* vol. I., pt. I, p. 79).

1 Ptolemy's name for Gopnāth point is *Balai,* 'which suggests that as early as the 2nd century A.C. Vaḷeh or Baḷeh (compare Alberuni's era of Balah) was known by its present name' (ibid., p. 78). But the identification is doubtful.

2 JBBRAS., vol. XI, p. 346.

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were endowed with incomparable courage and who had forcibly reduced their enemies to submission.' Fleet[1] also recognised that Maitraka should be taken as a proper name, but gave a different interpretation of the passage: "(*In the lineage*) of the Maitrakas, who by force compelled their enemies to bow down before them, there was ... ... Bhaṭārka who was possessed of glory acquired in a hundred battles fought within the circuit of the territories that he had obtained by means of his unequalled strength." In the absence of some such word as '*Vaṃśe*' or '*Kule*' connected with "Maitrakāṇām,' Kielhorn[2] objected to Fleet's rendering of the passage and to his representing Bhaṭārka 'in the lineage of the Maitrakas.' He tried to make the genitive 'Maitrakāṇam' dependent on the word '*Maṇḍala*' in the following compound, and according to him 'Bhaṭārka gained glory in hundreds of battles which he fought with (i.e., against) the mighty large armies of the Maitrakas who by force had subdued their enemies.' Both Kielhorn and Mandliks' interpretations of the passage represent the Maitrakas as enemies whom Bhaṭārka defeated, and by doing so achieved glory and curbed out a kingdom of his own. Fleets' interpretation is different. He takes Bhaṭārka to belong to the clan or tribe of the Maitrakas, so that Bhaṭārka's dynasty should be called the Maitraka dynasty and not the Valabhi dynasty as has so often been done. His interpretation of the passage has finally been proved to be correct, for the Gaṇeśgaḍ plates of Dhruvasena I discovered and edited later on actually shows that Bhaṭārka himself belonged to the tribe of the Maitrakas.[3]

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1 *Ind. Ant.*, vol. VIII, p. 303. 2 *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XIV, p. 327.

3 In the passage quoted above the Gaṇeśgaḍ plates, according to Hultzsch, 'clearly and unmistakably reads *Maitrakāṇām = atula-bala-sapatna*' in the place of *Maitrakāṇām = atula-bala-saṃpanna*. "This is also the reading of the published facsimiles of the remaining early Valabhi grants, the editors of which have read *sapanna* because they had in their minds the reading *saṃpanna* which actually occurs in the later Valabhi grants. As all the earlier grants read *sapatna*, we must, in the absence of cogent reasons to the contrary, assume that this was also the reading of the original draft of the Valabhi *Vaṃśāvali*, and that *saṃpanna*, the reading of the later grants, is a mere clerical error. I am obliged to dwell on this detail because the reading *sapatna* finally disposes of the possibility of construing

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Who were the Maitrakas: their origin.

There is also difference of opinion as to the origin of the Maitrakas. On the face of it, the Maitrakas had been sun-worshippers, for the word Maitraka seems to have clearly been derived from Sanskrit *Mitra* which is a derivation or adaptation of the Persian *Mithra*. Inscription of the *Mer* or *Mehār* tribe has been discovered at Hathasm in Kathiawaḍ.[1] Dr. Bhagawanlal Indraji suggests that Maitraka is the Sanskritised form of the original name of the tribe, *Mer* or *Mehār*. Fleet endorsed his view and pointed out that the original name was *Mihira*, a Sanskritised form of the Persian *Mihr*, the sun, and is no doubt to be attributed to sun-worship.[2] Vedic Mitra-worship fell into disuse by the early centuries of the Christian era; and the form of the sun-god that came to be worshipped in India in later times was clearly of Persian or Iranian origin. The god was dressed with a peculiarly Persian coat and long boots: Varāhamihira is definite that he should be in '*Udīcya-veśa*', i.e., Northern dress (here meaning Persian).[3] It is not improbable that this form of sun-worship came into vogue in India along with the gradual penetration of the Northern tribes into the heart of the country. The Hūṇas who were a sun-worshipping people entered India by the middle of the 5th century A.C. In view of these facts, the Maitrakas, in spite of their claims to be reckoned as Kṣatriyas, can hardly said to have an Indian origin. The almost contemporaneity of their appearance on the Indian soil with the Hūṇas, admittedly a sun-worshipping people, makes it rather probable that Maitrakas were but an allied tribe with, if not a branch of, the Hūṇas themselves. The *Bombay*

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the word *Maitrakāṇāṃ* with the next following compound, and forces us to connect the word with the verb *abhavat*, which is omitted, but it must be supplied to complete the sentence. Whether we paraphrase the passage by *Maitrakāṇām* (i.e., *Maitrakéṣu*) *Bhaṭārko 'bhavat*, or supply the word *vaṃśé* after *Maitrakāṇāṃ*, it is now evident that *Bhaṭārka*, the ancestor of the Valabhi kings, himself belonged to the family or tribe of the *Maitrakas*."—(E. Hultzsch, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. III, p. 319-20. Gaṇeśgaḍ plates of Dhruvasena I).

1 *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XV, p. 360.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 361. Note by Fleet.

3 *Ind. Ant.*, vol. LIV, pp. 61-71.—"Representation of Sūrya" by J. N. Banerjee.

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Gazetteer says that 'Bhaṭārka belonged to the Gurjjara tribe and that it was the supremacy of him and his descendants which gave rise to the name Gurjjara-rātra, the country of the Gurjjaras'. But this is seriously to be doubted; for, the name Gujerat, applied to the peninsula, once the realm of the Maitrakas, was a name connected with the Gurjjaras who gradually migrated from their original seat at or round Jodhpur in Rajputana towards the east and the peninsular South. It was one of these Gurjjara settlements in the South, probably the Gurjjara house of Broach, founded by Dadda, that gave the name Gurjjara-rātra to the peninsula, which afterwards came to be known as Gujerat. The Gurjjaras are not known to us as a sun-worshipping people, nor are there any evidence at our disposal to connect the Maitrakas with the Gurjara-Pratihāras. But when everything is said, it seems curious that the Valabhi kings uniformly were all, with two or three exceptions, *Paramamāheśvaras* or great devotees of Śiva and only one of them was a *Paramādityabhakta* or a fervent worshipper of the sun. Their inscriptions invariably have the reclining bull Nandī, the carrier of Śiva, at the top.[1]

The beginnings of the dynasty.

How did the Maitrakas come to acquire the regions round Gujerat and Kathiawad, to curb out a kingdom for themselves ? The tradition is current in Surāṣṭra that previous to the rise of the kingdom of Junagaḍh-Vanthali (9th century A.C.), Valabhinagara was the capital of Gujerat. The bards relate the story of the rise of Valabhi thus : "The Gupta kings reigned between the Ganges and the Jumna rivers. One of the kings sent his son Kumārapālagupta to conquer Surāṣṭra and put his viceroy, *Cakrapāṇi*,

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1 'Ghelots or Gohils who claim to have descended from the Valabhis take their name not from their race but from king Guha or Guhasena, the 4th ruler and apparently the first great sovereign among the Valabhis' (*Bomb. Gazetteer*, Origin of the Valabhis). The derivation of Ghelot or Gohil from Guha or Guhasena seems to me to be far-fetched. They like the Seśodias of Udaipur may claim their descent from the kings of Valabhi but that is no reason why we should seek to equate Ghelot or Gohil with Guha or Guhasena.

The question of the origin of the Maitrakas is still an open one, and cannot be held closed. They were regarded as Kṣatriyas, without doubt, as Yuan Chwang represents them C. 650 A.C.

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son of *Prandat,* one of his Āmīrs, to reign as a provincial governor in the city of Wamanasthali (mod. Wanthali). Kumārapāla now returned to his father's kingdom. His father reigned 23 years after the conquest of Surāṣṭra, and then died, and Kumārapāla ascended the throne. Kumārapālagupta reigned 20 years and then died and was succeeded by Skandagupta. But this king was of a weak intellect. His Senāpati, Bharttāraka, who was of the Gehloti race, taking a strong army, came into Surāṣṭra and made his rule firm there. Two years after this Skandagupta died. The Senāpati now assumed the title of king of Surāṣṭra and, having placed a governor at Wamanasthali, founded the city of Valabhinagara. At this time the Gupta race was dethroned by foreign invaders. The Senāpati was a Ghelot and his forefathers reigned at Ayodhyānagarī until displaced by the Gupta dynasty. After founding Valabhi, he established his rule in Surāṣṭra, Kaccha, Lāṭa-deśa and Mālava. The Vālā were a branch of the Ghelots. After the fall of Valabhi, the Vālā governor of Wamanasthali became independent."[1] The tradition herein recorded does not seriously contradict known facts of history, and there does not seem to be any reason to disbelieve it. We know that Candragupta II Vikramāditya made a conquest of Surāṣṭra and placed a viceroy over there to rule the distant province. But whether he took the help of his son in that distant expedition is something more than what history has recorded for us. The viceroy of Surāṣṭra was named *Cakrapāṇi,* son of *Prandat.* Cannot this '*Prandat*' be accepted as a corrupt Prakrit transformation of the name, *Parṇadatta,* who acted as governor of Surāṣṭra during the reign of Skandagupta? *Prandat* is spoken of in the tradition recorded above as an *Āmīr* or *Kumāra-(pāla)gupta,* but that does not prevent his being Āmīr also of Skandagupta and his son's being the viceroy of Surāṣṭra. But even if we are not ready to accept this surmise, the fact that the Maitrakas succeeded the Guptas in the Surāṣṭra region does not suffer in the least. We know that while Kumārapāla retained his possession of Surāṣṭra, his son Skandagupta 'deliberated for days and nights before making up his mind who could be trusted with the important task of guarding the lands of the Surāṣṭras,[2] and "in spite of all his efforts,

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1 *Legends of the earlier Cuḍāsamā Rās of Junagaḍh* by Major J. W. Watson ; *Ind. Ant.,* vol. II, 1873, pp. 312ff.

2 Junāgaḍh Inscription, Fleet, *CII,* vol. III, pp. 56ff.

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Skandagupta could not save the westernmost part of his empire from future troubles. During his lifetime he, no doubt, retained his hold over Surāṣṭra……. But his successors do not appear to have been so fortunate. Not a single inscription has yet been discovered which shows that Surāṣṭra …… formed parts of the Gupta empire after the death of Skandagupta."[1] But it is not impossible, rather it seems certain, that even during his lifetime, Surāṣṭra was gradually loosening its bond of allegiance to the Gupta imperialism, when Bhaṭārka, the Maitraka ancestor 'taking a strong army came into Surāṣṭra and made his r ule firm there.' And when two years later, according to the tradition, Skandagupta died (467 A.C.), he founded the city of Valabhinagara and made himself king of Surāṣṭra. The actual dating of the event is also not very far. For, the earliest dated inscription of the Maitrakas belongs to Mahārāja Dhruvasena I, the third of the four sons of Bhaṭārka, and bears the date Sam. 206 of the Gupta-(Valabhi) era = 525-26.[2] If we ascribe to the other two sons of Bhaṭārka roughly a reign of 50 years, then Bhaṭārka may be taken to have flourished in 475 A.C., a date very near to the one recorded by the tradition. Thus Bhaṭārka may be accepted as the Senāpati or general of the Guptas owing certain amount of allegiance to the imperial power, so much so, that even when the successors of Bhaṭārka had become practically independent they continued for a few generations more to call themselves Sāmantas or Mahāsāmantas. This is further supported by the fact that the Valabhis adopted both the Gupta era and the Gupta currency.[3]

Genealogy.

We have seen that Senāpati Bhaṭārka was the first of the family of the Maitrakas. In all the Maitraka grants his name is invariably mentioned first with due respect, and even the remote descendants never lost their admiration for him. With the help of numerous dated and undated records bequeathed by them we may build up a genealogical table of the dynasty, which is appended hereto.

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1 Ray Chaudhuri, *Pol. Hist. of Ancient India*, 2nd ed., p. 359.

2 For the much *"quoestio vexata"* of the Valabhi era and Valabhi chronology, see Fleet, *CII.*, vol. III, pp. 71 ff. and ante ; also *Ind. Ant.*, vol. III and subsequent volumes in which Maitraka grants are discussed.

3 *Bom. Gazetteer*, vol. I, pt. I.

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History.

Bhaṭārka, if we can believe the inscriptions, was not an upstart. He is said to have "acquired the goddess of royalty through the strength of the array of (his) hereditary servants and friends ..... and who were attached (to him) by affection." It seems that he was born in a powerful family which had many strong and powerful hereditary servants and friends. The course of events was perhaps this. During the reign of Skandagupta, the Hūṇas, who had, for once at least, attacked the Gupta empire,were able to establish a strong hold of their own in the North-west. Bhaṭārka of the Maitraka clan who was probably a Senāpati of Skandagupta somewhere in the frontier of his dominions being hard pressed by the Hūṇas,[1] moved towards the South with a strong army and established himself in Surāṣṭra. After the death of Skandagupta, the direct hold of the Guptas was lost and Bhaṭārka and his descendants became practically independent.

No epigraphic record of Bhaṭārka has yet been found, but he is invariably mentioned in every record of his family with reverence. He was succeeded by his son Senāpati Dharasena (I) who is first mentioned in the copper-plate of his brother Dhruvasena (I). Senāpati Dharasena was succeeded by his younger brother Mahārāja Droṇasiṃha. Droṇasiṃha seems to have left no records of his own and is only known from the record of his brother Dhruvasena. He is mentioned as having been invested with sovereignty "by the great lord, the sole lord of the circumference of the territory of the whole earth."[2] The paramount master was perhaps Buddhagupta or his son. "It was," according to Cunningham "the last act of supreme sovereignty performed by Buddhagupta."

Droṇasiṃha's younger brother was *Dhruvasena* I. His first known record belongs to Saṃ. 206=525-26 where is recorded the bestowing of several grants of land in the Hastavaprahāriṇī district (mod. Hathab in the Bhavnagar State). The last recorded date of the king is

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1 It is not improbable, as we have already hinted at, that Bhaṭārka might have belonged to a detached Hūṇa family which proceeded towards, and afterwards established itself in, Saurāṣṭra which had been included in the Gupta empire. Whatever the case might have been, Bhaṭārka, it is highly probable, acknowledged the suzerainty of Skandagupta.

2 *CII.*, vol. III, p. 168 ; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. X, p. 105.

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equivalent to 540 A.C.[1] He therefore seems to have ruled only for about 15 years. He bears the titles of Mahāsāmanta Mahārāja in his Palitana plates, but in his Wala Grants, he, in addition to these two, takes the titles of *Mahāpratihāra*, the great door keeper, *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* (the Chief Magistrate) and *Mahākartakṛtika*. Up to this time the Maitraka kings were not entirely independent ; for no independent ruler would like to assume the titles of Mahāsāmanta, Mahāpratihāra or Mahādaṇḍanāyaka. 'It would seem that Droṇasiṃha's coronation had not cut off the connection of his house with the supreme power, but only altered its name'. Dhruvasiṃha himself was a *Bhāgavata*, a devotee of Viṣṇu, but his sister's daughter *Duddā* was a *Paramopāsikā*—a great devotee of the Buddha—who founded a Buddhist convent that was patronised by the Maitraka kings. It is not clear if Dhruvasena succeeded to his brother Droṇasiṃha. Whether Dharapaṭṭa, the fourth son of Bhaṭārka himself, or Dharapaṭṭa's son succeeded to the last king cannot be said with certainty. Curiously enough, in a copper-plate of his son Guhasena,[2] Dharapaṭṭa is not mentioned at all while Guhasena is mentioned immediately after his uncle. It is the more curious that in the grants of Guhasena's son Dharasena II, he receives the title of Mahārāja and is spoken of as a ruling king. A 19 years' gap between the latest grant of Dhruvasena I and 559 A.C., the date of the earliest grant of Guhasena, favours the succession of Dharapaṭṭa. Probably he ruled for a very short time and was therefore passed over by Guhasena.

Mahārāja Guhasena, son of Dharapaṭṭa, was perhaps the first great ruler of the dynasty. Little is known about him except that he granted by charters, mainly issued from Valabhi, some villages within what is now known as Bhavnagar state. A copper-plate[3] of Guhasena informs us that the Valabhi monasteries possessed also libraries of some interest. In one grant he is called Paramamāheśvara and in another Paramopāsaka, whence it appears that he was actually converted to Buddhism. The Buddhist convent founded by Duddā, the sister's daughter of Dhruvasena I, continued to flourish and to enjoy the protection of the rulers.

Guhasena was succeeded by *Dharasena* II. In his own grants he

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1 The Vavadia Jogia plates, Saṃ. 221. *Wiener Zeitschrift*, vol. VII, p. 297. Kielhorn's List, no. 462.

2 Kielhorn's List, no. 464. *Ind. Ant.*, vol. VII, p. 67.

3 *Ibid.*, no. 464.

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is styled as *Mahārāja* and in those of others as *Mahāsāmanta*. It seems that there was no strict rule with regard to the use of these titles. The title of Mahāsāmanta was retained as one of honour. The Wala plates[1] of Dharasena II record a grant to the monastery of Śrī Bappadeva which had been built by the Ācārya Bhadanta Sthiramati and was situated in Valabhi. There can be no doubt that this Vihāra is the one which Yuan Chwang ascribes to the arhat *'Och-el-o'*. "At a little distance from the town of Valabhi there is a great convent which was erected in olden times by arhat Och-el-o. It is there that Bodhisattvas Guṇamati and Sthiramati fixed their abode and composed various treatises which have become famous and widely known." A copper-plate of Sāmanta Mahārāja Siṃhāditya of the Garluka family has been found along with the Maitraka grants at Palitana. He was perhaps a contemporary feudatory of the Maitraka king Dharasena II. The plate records grants to an individual in Elapatres which Fleet suggest to be identical with Vellwad in Godhra Taluq (Panch Mahals).

He was succeeded by his son *Śilāditya Dharmāditya*. He has been identified by Prof. Sylvain Lévi with Śilāditya of Mo-la-po, mentioned by Yuan Chwang.[2] It is certain in that case that Mo-la-po was included within the dominions of the Maitrakas. Yuan Chwang's Śilāditya was 'a monarch of great administrative ability and of rare kindness and compassion.' The Navalakhi plates of Śilāditya Dharmāditya record the gift of a village called Bhandanaka situated within the provincial limits of Walanagar which has been identified with Vādnagar in the Baroda state.[3]

He was succeeded by his brother *Kharagraha* I. From a description of Kharagraha, the younger brother of Śilāditya, it appears that during the lifetime of the latter, the former held the reins of Government, for he is there spoken of as having administered the affairs of the kingdom in obedience to the orders of his 'guru' who was his elder brother. It seems that Śilāditya's children were passed over. The line of Śilāditya was restored to after the death of Dharasena IV. Kharagraha has left no record of his own, and this is also the case with his son *Dharasena* III, who

1 *Ibid.*, no. 473, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. VI, p. 11.

2 Watter's Yuan Chwang, vol. II, p. 242.

3 Some would like to identify it with Vātapedra (modern Baroda).

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succeeded him. Dharasena III was succeeded by his younger brother *Dhruvasena* II who had a biruda *Bālāditya*. The extreme known dates correspond to 629 A.C. and 640 A.C. He was thus a contemporary of Dadda II of Broach and Harṣa Śilāditya of Kanoj. The Nausari copper-plate grant of Broach[1] supplies us with the useful information that Dadda II (629-641 A.C.) 'gave protection to the lord of Valabhi when the latter had been defeated by the great lord or Parameśvara, the illustrious Harṣadeva.' The defeated Valabhi king was Tu-lu-p'o-po-ta or Dhruvabhaṭṭa as stated by Yuan Chwang. Dhruvasena II was the Valabhi king contemporary to Dadda II of Broach, so that Dhruvabhaṭṭa was only another name of the same monarch. The pilgrim further says that he was the son-in-law of one Śilāditya of Kanoj and nephew of another Śilāditya, a former king of Mo-la-po, who ruled 60 years before the pilgrim's visit to the country. After his defeat Dhruvabhaṭṭa sued for peace. The friendship was further cemented by Harṣa's giving away in marriage his daughter to the defeated king. The war with the king of Valabhi must have occurred before 640 A.C., when Yuan Chwang visited the country. "Dhruvasena," he states, "was of hasty temper and of shallow views, but he was a sincere believer in Buddhism." If the poetic attributes of Dhruvasena recorded in his inscriptions are to be believed he made many conquests and extended his realm. The Nagwa plates[2] record grants of land in the *Mālavaka Āhāra* to two donees who had emigrated from *Udumbaragarbha* and *Jambusara* (mod. Jambasore between Kaira and Broach). Mālavaka is to be identified with western Malwa and as such Dhruvasena must have been in possession of Mālava at least for some time.

He was succeeded by *Dharasena* IV. He was the greatest and the most powerful of all the Maitraka kings of Valabhi and reigned during the years of chaos and confusion that followed Harṣa Śilāditya's death. As long as Harṣa lived, Dhruvasena II continued to rule as a subordinate ally. It was only after Harṣa's death that Dhruvasena's son and successor Dharasena IV could emerge out as an independent ruler with full imperial titles of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Cakravartin*. The title Mahārājādhirāja was used by many of the subsequent kings, but none of them aspired to be a Cakravartin or the supreme lord. So it may be conjectured that

1 *JBBRAS.*, vol. XVI, p. 1 ; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XIII, 1874.

2 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. VIII, p. 188.

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he was the master of a much larger dominion than were his predecessors or successors. His first plate of Saṃ. 326=645-6 was issued from Valabhi. The *Dūtaka* of the grant was Yuvarāja Dhruvasena. This Dhruvasena must have been Dhruvasena III who succeeded him. The Alina and the Kaira plates of this monarch were issued from his victorious camp (*Vijayaskandhāvāra*), pitched at *Bharukaccha*. Whether we take the passage in the inscription to indicate that the glorious monarch was at that time 'engaged in a warlike expedition or was making a royal progress' through his realm, this far is certain that the Broach district as far as the Narbada belonged, for a time at least, to the kingdom of Valabhi. The Kaira plates record the grant of two fields; the first was in the *Kheiaka Āhāra*, the modern district of Kaira itself. Dhruvasena was a great patron of learning. The celebrated poet *Bhaṭṭi* lived in his court and composed his famous *Bhaṭṭikāvya*.[1] The Dūtaka for the Alina and the Kaira plates was *Rājaduhitṛ Bhūpā* or *Bhūvā*. It is apparent that the royal princes accompanied the king in his tour or march of war and was entrusted with considerable responsibilities.

Dharasena seems to have left no son to succeed him. He was succeeded by his cousin *Dhruvasena* III, son of Derabhaṭṭa and grandson of Śilāditya Dharmāditya. *Derabhaṭṭa* appears to have been the ruler not of Valabhi but of some districts that lay south of the Valabhi territory, included, no doubt, within the kingdom. He is compared to *'Agastya'* and is described as "lord of the earth which has the Sahya and the Vindhyas for her lovely breasts". The description may be applied to the province south of Broach where the Sahyādri and the Vindhyas meet.

He was succeeded by *Kharagraha* II who like Śilāditya I had a biruda *'Bālāditya*. He was succeeded by his brother *Śilāditya* II, who in his turn was followed by his son *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Śilāditya* III. These titles as well as the name Śilāditya was adopted by all the subsequent kings. But there is nothing of interest about them. Śilāditya III was succeeded by his son *Śilāditya* IV. It was perhaps during his reign that a defeat was inflicted upon the kingdom by the feudatory Gurjaras of Broach, for an inscription of 735 A.C. refers to a success-

1 "Kāvyaṃ racitaṃ mayā Valabhyāṃ ŚrīDharasena-narendra-pālitāyām."

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ful war of *Jayabhaṭa* III against the king of Valabhi. [1] Jayabhaṭa is there represented as having "by the edge of his sword quieted the impetuosity of the lord of Valabhi." A faint echo of the Gurjara-Valabhi struggle is to be found in an inscription of 706 A.C. of *Dadda* III, where Dadda is represented as fighting with the kings of the East and the West. The king of the West was probably the Valabhi king, who preceded Śilāditya IV.

After *Śīlāditya* IV came *Śīlāditya* V, *Śīlāditya* VI and lastly *Śīlāditya* VII in succession. The only known date is that of Śilāditya VII, the last known of the Maitrakas of Valabhi, in Saṃ. 447 = 766-67 A.C.

In spite of a lengthy reign of 250 years enjoyed by a long line of kings, the Maitrakas of Valabhi could not achieve anything more than a local importance except for a few years during the reign of Harṣa Śilāditya and shortly after. The kingdom was not extensive enough. It did not extend beyond what is now known as Kathiawaḍ, Gujerat and the state of Baroda. Surāṣtra, as is shown in the inscriptions, also formed a part of their dominion, which for some time extended up to Broach and Surat on the river Mohi in the south, and to Mālava (western Malwa, i.e., Mo-la-po of Yuan Chwang) in the east.

Extension of the Maitraka dominion.

In 1872 Bühler wrote : "The destruction of Valabhi is an event around which there hangs more than one mystery and the question when it happend is one of the most difficult to decide." [2] After 50 years of historical research the question still remains 'one of the most difficult to decide.' No epigraphic or literary record can help us definitely on the point.

Extinction of the Maitrakas.

But it seems highly probable that the kingdom of Valabhi fell an easy prey to the early marauders of 'Islam with sword in hand.' The Islamic expeditions into India began as early as the first quarter of the 8th century A.C. The first expedition, as Biladuri states, [3] was directed by *Osman the Khalif* against Thana. The result has not been recorded, but the historian mentions a more successful invasion to Debal at the mouth of the Indus, sent by *Hakam* under the command of his brother *Muhammad*, the Arab conqueror of Sind. A peace was made with Surāṣtra and Kathiawaḍ in 724. It is certain

1 Kavi plates of Gurjjara Jayabhaṭa III—*Ind. Ant.*, vol. V, p. 115.

2 *Ind. Ant.*, vol. I, p. 130.

3 Elliot, *History of India*, vol. I.

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that a part of the Maitraka kingdom had to feel the brunt of the Islamic blow. Again, *Junaid*, the son of *Abdur-Rahaman-al-Muri* and the general of *Khalif Hasham* (724-43 A.C.) conquered Jurz (i.e., Gujerat) and also Broach.[1] But the most permanent result was effected by *Mansurh*. The Sind capital Mansura was founded by him some time between 750 and 770 A.C.

But up till now no invasion was directed against the city of Valabhi itself. So far as is known, except Alberuni himself, none of the Arab geographers or historians of the 9th, 10th or 11th centuries mention Valabhi.[2] The story of the destruction of the kingdom of Valabhi is told on the authority of a current Hindu tradition by Alberuni. The last known date of the Maitrakas of Valabhi is 766-67 and Alberuni's account is quite in accordance with facts. He tells us[3] how *Rañka* an utter pauper became rich and slowly built a town ; how the king of Valabhi desired to own the same town and was denied by Rañka ; how Rañka being afraid of the king's resentment, "fled to the lord of *Al-Mansur*, made him presents of money and asked to help him by a naval force." The lord of *Al-Mansur* complied with his request and assisted him. He made a night attack upon king Valabha and killed him and his people and destroyed the town. "People say that still in our time there are such traces left in that country as are found in places which were destroyed by unexpected night attack."[4]

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1 Elliot, *History of India*, vol. I, p. 126. It was most probably the invasion of Junaid to which an allusion is made in the Navsari plates of Gujerat Cālukya Pulakeśirāja (735 A.C.) which refers to an expedition by the Arabs in course of which they claim to have defeated the kings of Saindhavas, Cāvoṭakas, Saurāṣṭras, Mauryas and Gurjaras. It is strange why the invader did not notice Valabhi. No reference to Valabhi is made in the Arab records, nor in that of Pulakeśin.

2 "The only known Mussalman reference to later than A.C. 750 is Alberuni's statement..... After its overthrow Valabhi remained, as it still continues a local town." "Such an after life is in no way incosistent with its destruction as a leading capital in A.C. 767." *Bom. Gaz.*, vol. I, part I, p. 95 (notes).

3 Alberuni's *India*, vol. I, pp. 192f.

4 In support of the Hindu tradition of an expedition from Mansura against Valabhi between A.C. 750 and 770, it is noted that the Arab historians of Sind record that in A.C. 758, Khalif Mansur

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Maitraka administration.

Regarding the general administration of the Maitrakas, we have no detailed or definite information. But the designations of some of the offices and territorial divisions enable us to form an idea about the machinery of administration. It will be seen that it did not differ much from that of the western Kṣatrapas, the Sātavāhanas and the Guptas. The Scythian and the Gupta machineries seem to have served as models which were adapted to local conditions by the Maitrakas.

The smallest administrative unit was of course the *grāma* or the village, with the *Grāmakūṭa* at its head. This *Grāmakūṭa* must have been the identical officer who is known in the Gupta records as *Grāmika* or in the Scythian records as *Grāmaṇī*, *Grāmika* or *Grāma bhojaka*. The administration of the village was assisted by a *Mahattara* (mentioned also in the Gupta as well as the Scythian records as Mahattarakas), a *Vartmapāla*, a *Pratisāraka*, a *Cauroddharaṇika* and a *Cāṭābhaṭa*. The last two offices are so common that from the Gupta period onwards they invariably played a part in the administration of the villages and towns. *Mahattara* literally means a senior. The designation of the office was probably used to denote the senior-most man in the village, recognised universally as the most experienced and able man of the village. *Vartmapāla* was apparently the road-watch stationed by the road-side and *Pratisāraka*, the 'night-guard or watchman of fields and villages.' *Cauroddharaṇika* is the thief-catcher, whose office was required in every village or town. A *Cāṭabhaṭa* was a soldier who was to keep in check the rogues (or Cāṭas) of the locality. These Cāṭabhaṭas were probably not very popular and

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sent Amru-bin-Iamal with a fleet of barks to the coast of 'Barada' (applied to the Porabandar range of hills). A few years later, i.e., in 776 A.C. a second expedition succeeded in taking the town but as sickness broke out they had to return. This 'Barada' has been taken to be equivalent to or identical with 'Balaba', i.e., Valabhī (vide. *Bom. Gaz.*). To me, the identification seems doubtful, and I cannot accept it as having anything to do with the Hindu tradition recorded by Alberuni. But this shows how the Islamic expeditions one after another were being directed upon the kingdom once ruled by the Valabhi kings and was falling fast before the conquering arms of Islam.

The treachery of the magician Raṅka is the same cause assigned by Forbes, (*Rāsmāḷā*, I, 12-18) from Jain sources *Bomb. Gaz.*, vol. I, part I, p. 94 note 3.

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the people resented their presence in the village, for a plate is found to record the grant of a village which was not to be entered by Cāṭabhāṭas.[1]

Like the *Grāma*, the *Draṇga* (meaning a town) was also another small administrative unit under the head of a town-officer called *Drāṅgika*. This office is not found in the Gupta or pre-Gupta machineries of administration.

Two other smaller administrative units were the *Sthalī* and the *Panthaka* (from Panthā, Patha). Neither of these units are seen in the Gupta or subsequent records. Both the terms seem to have been loosely used. A place denoted with its boundaries and surroundings seems to have been called a 'Panthaka' and any petty division of a locality without any specified boundary, a 'Sthalī'. Of such Sthalīs and Panthakas we have mention in the Maitraka grants of Baṭāsthalī, Loṇāpadrakasthalī, Nagarapanthaka, Porabandarapanthaka, etc.

Over several units of *Grāmas* and *Draṅgas* with their *Sthalīs* and *Panthakas*, was the higher administrative unit of an *Āhāra* or *Āharaṇī*, meaning apparently the collectorate equivalent to a modern district. Āhāra or Āharaṇī as an administrative unit was familiar during the Scythian period; but not in the Gupta or Pāla or Sena periods. At the head of each Āhāra or Āharaṇī was a *Rāṣṭrapati* corresponding to the Ṛāṣṭrikas (Raṭṭhika) of Maurya and post-Maurya records. There is no mention of Rāṣṭra as an administrative unit in the Maitraka machinery of government, but the office of the Rāṣṭrapati is mentioned in several records. Rāṣṭra and Āhāra were

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1 Professor H. M. Bhadkamkar disjoins the compound into Cāṭa and Bhaṭa and makes Cāṭa and Bhāṭa; Bhāḷa meaning the herald, attendant on a king, whose duty is to sing his praises. He points out that Yājñavalkya speaks of Cāṭas along with thieves etc.... In *Mṛcchakaṭika*, Act V, the friend of the hero remarks that even dogs would not want to go to a place where the cāṭas, courtesans, etc. reside. The similarity in sound with *Cāṭu* (or flattery) is so close as to lead one to translate the word by *flatterer*; and the word may in that case denote the attendants of the king who are very likely to misuse their position by being harmful to others. Or they may be servants whose duty is to sing the praises of the king and his forefathers.

In *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XI, p. 175-77 Mr. Bhadkamkar discusses certain Maitraka officials.

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probably synonyms, as they had actually been so in the Scythian period, for the Sātahani raṭṭha or rāṣṭra was also known as Sātavāhanihāra (Āhāra).[1] Āhāras were sometimes placed also under Amātyas, e.g., the Govardhana āhāra (mod. Nasik) was governed by Amātya Viṣṇupālita and Māmālā āhāra by Amātya Gupta. So it seems that the office of *Amātya* mentioned in the Maitraka grants, was not unoften that of governors of Āhāras or Rāṣṭras. In the head-quarters of an Āhāra might have been stationed the offices of *Daṇḍapāśika*, *Sthānādhikaraṇa*, *Adhikaraṇika* and others. The office of Daṇḍapaśika was well-known in Gupta and post-Gupta governments, but not the two other offices. The functions might well have been discharged by officers who were named otherwise. Daṇḍapāśika was apparently Head Police Officer under whom the Cauroddharaṇikas, Vartmapālas, Pratisārakas and other subordinate police officials held their offices. The Sthānādhikaraṇas appear to correspond to the Thānādārs of the present day who even to the present day in Kathiawaḍ and Rajputana combine police and magisterial functions. Adhikaraṇika was the chief judicial magistrate of an Āhāra or Rāṣṭra. Of Āhāras we have mention in the records of *Kheṭaka Āhāra* (mod. Kheda), *Hastavaprāhāra* (mod. Hathab).

The largest administrative division in the Maitraka system of government was the *Viṣaya*. Viṣaya was well-known in post-Maurya, Gupta, post-Gupta, Pāla and Sena—in fact, in all the North Indian—machineries of administration. These Viṣayas were equivalent to the Pradeśas mentioned in Eran inscription of Samudragupta and were governed by a *Viṣayapati*. That Viṣaya was a larger administrative area than a Rāṣṭra (or Āhāra) is proved by the Kavi Grant of Jayabhaṭa of the year 486 (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. v, p. 114) which mention first the Viṣayapati, then the Rāṣṭrapati and then the Grāma-mahattara. But exactly the opposite is indicated by the Sāmāngaḍ grant of Dantidurga (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. xi, p. 112), Waṇi grant of Govinda III (*Ibid.*, p. 159) and the Kaṇthem grant of Vikramāditya V (*Ibid.*, vol. xvi, p. 24),[2] but all these records come from South India, where the principle of division might have been quite the opposite. Curiously enough, in the Alina grant of Dharasena II of the year 270 (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. vii, p. 72) the expression *Kheṭaka-āhāra-viṣaya* is used. This shows that the terms Āhāra and Viṣaya were sometimes but not

1 Ray Chaudhuri, *Pol. Hist. of Anc. India*, p. 328 (2nd Ed).

2 *CII.*, vol. III, p. 32 notes.

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generally used synonymously. Of Viṣayas, we have mention in the Maitraka grants of *Svabhāgapuraviṣaya*, *Sūryapuraviṣaya*, etc.

Other important officials of the state, besides the king and his prime minister, were the *Mahāpratihāra*, *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka*, *Sāndhivigrahādhikaraṇa*, *Āyuktaka*, *Viniyuktaka*, *Bhogika* or *Bhogoddharaṇika*, *Śaulkika*, *Anutpannadānasamudgrāhaka*, *Dūtaka*, *Divira* or *Divirapati*, *Dhruva* or *Dhruvādhikaraṇa* and *Rājasthānīya*. All these offices except the last three are to be met in Gupta and post-Gupta records and require little explanation. *Mahāpratihāra* was the great chamberlain and *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka*, the great general. Both the offices were highly esteemed : one of the Maitraka kings called himself Mahārāja, bu gloried in calling himself Mahāsāmanta, Mahāpratihāra, Mahādaṇḍanāyaka. *Sandhivigrahādhikaraṇa* (i.e., Sāndhivigrahika of Gupta records) was certainly what is now known as the Minister of Peace and War. He was the most important official next to the king and, like the Maurya Mantrin, accompanied the king to the battlefield. *Āyuktaka* and *Viniyuktaka* are offices, the functions of which cannot exactly be determined. Āyuktaka may be identical with the *Āyukta-puruṣa* of the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta (line 26). Both the terms seem to signify any superior officers in charge of government appointments. *Bhogika* or *Bhogoddharaṇika*, *Śaulkika*, and *Anutapannadānasaṃgrāhaka* were offices connected with the fiscal administration of the Viṣayas or Āhāras. Bhogika or Bhogoddharaṇika (cf. also Gupta and Pāla records) was the collector of the Bhoga, i.e, the state share of the land produce taken in kind, which as a rule was one-sixth of the produce. The term is still in use in Kathiawaḍ. *Śaulkika* (from *Śulka*) was apparently the superintendent of tolls or customs and *Anutpannadānasaṃgrāhaka* was the officer in charge for the collection of arrears of state revenue. *Dhruva* or *Dhruvādhikaraṇa* is also a fiscal office. Dhruvas or Dhrus "are actually at the present day employed in Kathiawaḍ and Kacch and they superintend the collection of the produce in grain.....Their duty is to see that the collector does not collect more than his proper share."[1] *Divira or Divirapati* was an officer entrusted with the working out of accounts.[2] The writer of one of the Maitraka

1 *Ind. Ant.*, vol. V, 1876. Bühler, *Grants from Valabhi.*

2 "In the land-grants Divira or Divirapati is always used as a title especially for the officials who drew up the Śāsanas. This

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plates was Divira Skandabhaṭa. Dūtaka, lit. a messenger, was the technical title of an officer employed in connection with formal grants. His office, as Fleet rightly infers,[1] 'was to carry not the actual charter itself for delivery into the hands of the grantees, but the king's sanction and order to the local officials who were to have the charter drawn up and delivered'. It was thus an office with some responsibility which necessitated the appointment of the Sandhi-vigrahādhikaraṇa himself in one case, and of the *Rājaduhitṛ* (Bhūpā or Bhūvā) herself and generally of the *Yuvarājas* in others. *Rāja-sthānīya* is a little known office, the exact rank of which cannot be easily determined. Besides in the Valabhi grants, it is also mentioned in the Deo-Baranak inscription of Jīvitagupta and in the Bhāgalpur grant of Nārāyaṇapāla where, as elsewhere, the office is not given a very high rank. Some scholars have sought to render it by 'viceroy,' others by 'foreign secretary' and still others by 'political agent or regent.' The rendering 'viceroy' may at once be dismissed, for as we have said before, the Maitraka dominion was not at all extensive. Scarcely had they any foreign relation, so that an office of a foreign secretary could ever be required. Nor the rendering 'political agent' is satisfactory. Fleet is right when he says that in the case of regal and official titles and terms denoting territorial divisions, "it is much better to use the original Sanskrit words, than to render them" by modern equivalents. For, these equivalents "are of modern invention and cannot possibly be satisfactory equivalents, even if they should happen to approach to the relative meanings."[2] As for this office of Rājasthānīya, Bühler sought information in the *Lokaprakāśa* of Kṣemendra where it is defined as, "*Prajā pālanārtham=udvahati rakṣayati sa rājasthanīyaḥ.*"

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position shows that it denoted the holder of some office. Kṣemendra in his *Lokaprakāśa* gives a clue to the meaning of the word. He speaks of various classes of Diviras, Ganjadiviras, Nagaradiviras, Grāmadiviras, etc., and next he mentions Kāyasthas....And next when he proceeds to propound the forms of bonds and documents, he says, 'I will now propound all written documents according to the details of each in their proper order for the benefit of the Diviras'. Hence it becomes evident that these officials were connected with working out accounts." According to some, it is a loan word from Persian. *Ind. Ant.*, vol. VI. Bühler, *Further Valabhi grants.*

1 *CII.*, vol III, p. 100 notes. 2 *Ibid.*, p. 32 notes.

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"He who carries out the object of protecting subjects and shelters them is called a Rājasthānīya."[1] It may mean any government official who is required to look after the peaceful protection of the people or royal officials in general.

Of the bigger administrative divisions like *Deśa*, *Bhukti* and *Maṇḍala*, which loom so large in the Gupta and post-Gupta periods, the Maitraka machinery of administration seem to have known nothing.[2] No mention is made of any local Pariṣad in the Maitraka grants, far less of any Mantripariṣad or of any institution like Goṣṭhī or Saṃgha of corporate activity.[3]

State of Religion.

The Maitraka kings of Valabhi were almost all Parama-māheśvaras,i.e., fervent devotees of Śiva. Two or three of them were Parama-bhāgavatas and only one was a Paramādityabhakta. Being Kṣatriyas themselves, they all belonged to Brāhmaṇical Hinduism. But tolerance was one of their singular virtues and the picture of the state of religion, the Maitraka grants present to us, does credit to the dynasty. One of the kings, Guhasena, who was originally a Paramamāheśvara, was actually converted into Buddhism and styled Paramopāsaka. Dhruvasena I himself was a Vaiṣṇava—a Parama-bhāgavata, but his sister's daughter Duddā was a Paramopāsikā. Duddā, herself a nun, established a Buddhist convent which received grants from her uncle and, even during the reign of Guhasena, her convent continued to enjoy the protection of the rulers.[4] The mention of eighteen Buddhist schools is an

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1 *Ind. Ant.*, *loc. cit.*

2 Valabhi officers have been discussed in the *Bom. Gaz.*, vol. I, part I, *op. cit.* and incidentally by Bühler and Fleet. while editing the inscriptions. Also see *Ind. Ant.*, vols. V, XV. and *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XI, p. 175-177, *op. cit.*

3 The Navalakhi plates of Śilāditya I, Saṃ. 286 (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. XI, p. 174) mention another important Maitraka official, e.g., the Kumāramātyas which is often preceded by the word Rājasthānīyas. To me Kumāramātya does not signify any special office other than that of the Amātya and it seems probable that those Amātyas who were princes of the blood royal were called Kumāramātyas. The word has been used in the Gupta records in this sense. (For different explanations of the word see *Ep. Ind.*, vol. X, p. 50, note 2 ; also vol. XI, p. 176 (g).

4 *Ind. Ant.*, vol. IV—Bühler, *Grant of king Guhasena.*

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important information as regards the history of Hīnayāna Buddhism. The information is corroborated by the statement of Yuan Chwang, who says that in a hundred convents of Valabhi, the Hīnayāna was chiefly studied. 'The 18 schools of Duddā's grant can only refer to the Hīnayāna, because the division of Buddhism is known to have been cultivated in that number of Nikāyas.' Yuan Chwang also states that near the town of Valabhi, there was a convent built by O-tche-lo. We have already seen that this statement of the pilgrim finds corroboration in a grant of Dharasena II. Like Duddā, Mimmā, alluded to in a grant of Guhasena, was also a Paramopāsikā—a Buddhist nun, who built the *Ābhyantarikavihāra* which received grants from the king. Grants were also lavishly made to Brahmins and when the records are carefully studied we can make out the different Śākhās and Bhédas that existed amongst the Brahmins in western India during those centuries. Buddhism thus flourished side by side with Brāhmaṇism ; and worship of images formed part of the religion, for in the grants, Kālī, Lakṣmī, Sarasvatī and other goddesses are mentioned. The Hindu pantheon was thus not unknown ; and the evidence of Yuan Chwang bears testimony to it. He says, "It (Valabhi) had 100 Buddhist monasteries with 6000 Brethren adherents of the Hīnayāna Sammatīya school ; of Deva temples there were some hundreds, and the adherents of the various systems were very numerous.[1] Speaking of Su-la-cha (Surat)[2] he says, "There were more than 50 monasteries with above 3000 Brethren, the majority being of the Mahāyānist Sthavira system ; the Deva temples were above 100 in number and the sectaries lived pell-mell."[3]

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1 Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, vol. II, p. 246.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 248. The pilgrim uses the expression "Mahāyanist Sthaviras" but the Fang-chih has only the single term "Sthavira."

3 Maitraka grants are numerous. They have mostly been edited in the *Ind. Ant.*, vols. I—XX, of the *Ep. Ind.*, vols. III—XV, in *CII.*, vol. III and in the early vols. of the *JBBRAS.* New grants are still being discovered (cf. *Arch. Pro. Report. Western Circle* ; *Ep. Ind.* etc). These grants are the main sources of my information. My acknowledgments are due to the editors of these grants.

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Religion of Kavikankaṇa Mukundarama Cakravarti

II

It is a very significant fact that none of Kavikaṅkaṇa's ancestors has been mentioned in the elaborate lists of Vaiṣṇavas prepared by the members of the Vaiṣṇava community of the time. Nor does Kavikaṅkaṇa himself mention any of the famous Vaiṣṇava families that lived in villages not far away from his own, e. g., the Khān family of Kulīna-grāma. In his 'Dig vandanā,' he makes only a simple mention of 'Brāhmaṇacaraṇa' and 'Vaiṣṇavacaraṇa,' but in the details of his 'vandanā' that follows, there is no mention of a poet of the Caitanya Literature. The following names have been mentioned: Vālmīkī, Parāśara, Śuka, Vyāsa, Bṛhaspati, Jayadeva, Vidyāpati, Kālidāsa, Kṛttivāsa, Māṇika Datta (the older poet of the Caṇḍī Song) and Balarāma, his predecessor.[1]

Of literary subjects and works, the following have been named: Pañjikā, Ṭīkā, Nyāya, Koṣa, Nāṭikā, Gaṇavṛtti, Vyākaraṇa, Daṇḍin's work, Piṅgala's chandas, poems of Bhāravi and Māgha, Jaimini-Bhārata, Vyāsa's works, Meghadūta, Naiṣadha, Kumārasambhava, Raghuvaṃśa, Rāghava-pāṇḍavīya, songs of Jayadeva, Saptaśatī, Mudrārākṣasa, Mālatīmādhava, Hitopadeśa, Vāsavadattā, Kamandakīya-Nīti, Dīpika, Bhāsvati, Kāvyaprakāśa, Ratnāvalī, Sāhityadarpaṇa, Durghaṭavṛtti, Vaidyaka, Jyotiṣa, Veda, Vedānta philosophy, etc.[2]

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1 প্রণাম করিয়া বন্দ ব্রাহ্মণচরণ। বৈষ্ণবচরণ বন্দ হরিসংকীর্ত্তন॥
আদ্য কবি বাল্মীকিরে করিল প্রণতি। পরাশর শুক ব্যাস বন্দ বৃহস্পতি
জয়দেব বিদ্যাপতি বন্দ কালিদাস। করজোড়ে বন্দিল পণ্ডিত কৃত্তিবাস॥
মাণিকদত্তেরে আমি করিলু বিনয়। যাহা হতে হৈল গীতপথ পরিচয়॥
এত সব কবিদের বন্দিয়া চরণ। দণ্ডবৎ হয়্যা বন্দ শ্রীকবিকঙ্কণ॥

2 পড়য়ে সাধুর বালা, ক খ গ আঠার ফলা, সুবিহানে করিয়া যতন।
রক্ষিত পঞ্জিকা টীকা, ন্যায় কোষ নাটিকা, গণবৃত্তি আর ব্যাকরণ॥
পড়িল কথন দণ্ডী, করিতে কবিত্ব খণ্ডী, নানা ছন্দ পড়িল পিঙ্গল।
করি দৃঢ় অনুরাগে, পড়িল ভারবি মাঘে, বন্ধু জনে বাড়ে কুতূহল॥
জৈমিনি-ভারতামৃত, ব্যাস পড়ে মেঘদূত, নৈষধ কুমারসম্ভব।
দিবা নিশি নাহি জানি, পড়ে রঘু শ্বেতমুনি, রাঘব-পাণ্ডবী জয়দেব॥

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A reference at least to the innumerable Vaiṣṇava works written by Rūpa, Sanātana, Jīva, Kavikarṇapūra, and others, and especially those by the Khān family of Kulīna-grāma, might reasonably be expected here.

In Kavikaṅkaṇa's work, the Vaiśyas are said to be worshippers of Kṛṣṇa. They take the name of Kṛṣṇa even when they are making the valuation of things to be purchased for their shop. They are a peace-loving people taking care of agricultural, pastoral and shop-keeping business.[1] A host of Vaiṣṇava names appear in connection with the pigeon flying sport of Dhanapati in his childhood. But Kavikaṅkaṇa does not attribute the Vaiṣṇava faith to the higher sections of the society.

The following particulars recorded in the Caṇḍīmaṅgala are not consistent with the Vaiṣṇava mode of thinking :

i. Although Rāma and Kṛṣṇa are both conceived of as Vaiṣṇava deities, the former is deemed inferior to the latter in the Caitanya Literature. Kṛṣṇa is the 'Pūrṇa Brahma' who can grant 'bhakti' ('love') to his worshippers. Rāma is only a portion of the former, and can grant 'mukti' to his adherents.[2] 'Mukti' or 'release from

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অব্যাহত বুদ্ধিগতি, পড়ে দুই সপ্তশতী, পড়ে মুদ্রা মুরারি মালতী।
হিত উপদেশকথা, পড়িল বাসবদত্তা কামন্দকী দীপিকা ভাস্বতী ॥
কাব্যপ্রকাশ পড়ি, অভ্যাস করিল খড়ি, রত্নাবলী সাহিত্যদর্পণে।
... ... — বৈদ্যক জ্যোতিষ যত, বিশেষ বলিব কত, একে একে পড়িল শ্রীপতি ॥
'ব্যবহারে বড় ঋজু নিত্যপড়ি বেদ যজু বেদবিদ্যা পড়ে অবিরত ॥'
'কেহ পড়ে ভারত পুরাণ'।
'দীপিকা ভাস্বতী ধরে, শাস্ত্র বিচার করে'।
'বেদঅন্ত দরশনে, ব্রহ্ম করি যাঁরে ভণে, অন্যে বলে পুরুষ প্রধান'।

1 'কৃষ্ণ সেবে অনুক্ষণ, দান করে নানা ধন'।
'বৈশ্য বৈসে মহাজন, কৃষ্ণ সেবে অনুক্ষণ, কৃষিকর্ম্ম করে গোরক্ষণ।'

2. পূর্ব্বে আমি রামনাম পাঞাছি শিব হৈতে। তোমা সঙ্গে লোভ হৈল কৃষ্ণনাম লৈতে ॥
মুক্তি হেতুক তারক হয় রামনাম। কৃষ্ণনাম পাবক হয়ে করে প্রেমদান ॥
চৈ, চ, অন্ত্য, ৩ ॥
ব্রহ্মা বিষ্ণু হর এই সৃষ্ট্যাদি ঈশ্বর। তিনে আজ্ঞাকারী কৃষ্ণের, কৃষ্ণ অধীশ্বর ॥
চৈ, চ, মধ্য, ২১।
'জ্ঞান হৈতে ভক্তি শ্রেষ্ঠ বহু শাস্ত্রে পাই'।
'ভক্তি দেবীর দাসী মুক্তি শাস্ত্র পরমাণে'—অদ্বৈত প্রকাশ, ২০।

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the bond of saṃsāra' is much inferior to 'bhakti' in the estimation of the followers of the Caitanya cult. Kavikaṅkaṇa devotes a poem to the Vandanā of Rāma, but there is no Vandanā of Kṛṣṇa in his work.

ii. In his Caitanya-vandanā, Kavikaṅkaṇa gives a very imperfect view of the tenets of the Caitanya cult. Caitanya preaches 'bhakti' to his followers, but Kavikaṅkaṇa attributes to him the discovery of the way to 'mukti.'[1]

iii. Kavikaṅkaṇa gives a detailed classification of the different sections of the Brāhmaṇa caste, according to the method instituted by Ballāla Sena;[2] a minute account of the Kāyastha caste,[3] as well as of the Subarṇa-vaṇik caste, has been given in the work of Kavikaṅkaṇa. But there is no account of the different śākhās of the Vaiṣṇava community.

iv. Kavikaṅkaṇa is acquainted with very minute preparations of fish in an infinite variety. Some of the varieties are being noticed in this connection. (1) Soup of the rohit fish with arum and pounded pepper. (2) Soup of the rohit fish with pumpkin gourd (kuṣmāṇḍa), potato and dried balls of pasted pulse. (3) Acid soup of the śakul fish with plums. (4) Acid soup of śakul fish with mango. (5) Acid soup of śakul fish devoid of its bones, over-seasoned with salt and stirred with the stick into a paste-like substance. (6) Preparation of

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1 'মুকুতির দেখাল্যা শরণী'—ক, ক, চ, কলি, বিশ্ব, সং-৩ পৃঃ।

2 'ব্রাহ্মণের পারা নাহি জাতি বল্লাল সেনিয়া।'—ইণ্ডিয়ান পাবলিশিং হাউসের সং, ২২১ পৃঃ।

3 কুলে শিলে নহে নিন্দ, মুখটি চাটাতি বন্দ্য, কাঞ্জীবিল্ব গাঁগুলি ঘোষাল।
পুইতণ্ড বৈশে হড়, বাগাঞ্চি কেশর গড়, ঘণ্টেশ্বরী বৈশে কুলিলাল॥
পারীযাতী পীতমুণ্ড-ঝিকবাজি মাল খণ্ডী, ঘুষুণ্ডি বলাল কুণ্ডমাল।
ছোটখণ্ডী পলশাঞী, দিগাড়ি কুসুমগাঞী, শাঁগাঞি কুলভি পারীয়াল॥
কড়িয়াল কুলখাল, সিহলাঁহি কুলিয়াল, পিপিলাই বৈসে পূর্ব্বগাঞী।
ধনে মানে অতিচণ্ড, বাপুলী পিশাচখণ্ড, কর্ণাই সেড়ো বৈসগাঁই॥
পালধি হিজলগাঁঞি, মাসশ্চটক দিণ্ডীসাঞী, করড়ি, দাগড়ি ভূরিষ্ঠাল।
বটগ্রামী নন্দিগাঞি, ভাট্যাতি শীতল শাঞী, লালসী কোণ্ডরী মতিলাল॥
গাঞী নাহি গোত্র আছে, বসিলা বাড়ীর কাছে, বরেন্দ্র ব্রাহ্মণ নয়শত।
ব্যবহারে বড় ঋজু, অনুদিন পড়ে যজু, বেদবিদ্যা মুখে অবিরত॥
বিশ্ব, সং, ২৬৩ পৃঃ।

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śakul spawns with prepared mustard paste. (7) Acid soup of the eel fish with tamarind juice. (8) Singed fish with lemon juice. (9) Fried paste balls of the crayfish. (10) A hodgepodge preparation of naṭiyā, dried pillules of pasted pulse, lobsters and jack fruit seeds. Also various other preparations of this sort have been described in the Song of Caṇḍī.[1] This does not indicate the poet's living in an orthodox Vaiṣṇava family where no fish was allowed to be brought.

Let us now turn to another aspect of the subject, and try to see what religious view was actually professed by the poet of the "Caṇḍī-maṅgala." The work begins with the following benedictory verse which appears in every edition of the work :

"Whom the Vedānta Philosophy calls by the name of 'Brahma,'[2]
By others called the 'Puruṣa-pradhāna,'
The ultimate Source of the Universe, the Cause, the Interceder and the Protector,
To Him do I offer a hundred thousand obeisances."

The editors of the Caṇḍīmaṅgala have mixed up this verse with the Gaṇeśa-vandanā that follows this. The verse however does not seem to refer to Gaṇeśa, but to the 'Brahman,' or the Absolute, whom the poet acknowledges as the Supreme God. The poet does not name his God, but only refers to the doctrines of the Vedānta, the Sāṅkhya, and to the mass of philosophical opinions accumulated in the learned society of his day. The gods and goddesses of Hindu

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1 'রোহিতে কুমুড়া বড়ি আলু দিয়া ঝোল' 'পোড়ামীনে জামীরের রস'
'ভাজে চিতলের কোল, রোহিত মৎস্যের ঝোল, মানকচু সরিষা ভূষিত'
'করিয়া কণ্টকহীন, আম্রযোগে শোল মীন, খর লোণ ঘন দিয়া কাঠি
'আমি যেন পাই সোনা, শকুল মৎস্যের পোনা, গোটা কাসন্দি দিয়া তথি'
'বদরী শকুল মীন,' 'ভাজ কিছু রাইখরা চিঙ্গড়ির কর বড়া' 'শকুল বদরীঝোল'
'রান্ধিল পাঁকালঝষ, দিয়া তেঁতুলের রস' 'পোড়ামাছে জামীরের রস'
'আমার সাধের সীমা, হেলঞ্চা কলমী গিমা, বোদালি কাটিয়া কর পাক।
ঘন কাঠি খর জ্বালে, সন্তোলিবে কটু তৈলে, দিবে তাতে পলতার শাক॥
'মীন চড়চড়ি কুমড়া বড়ি' 'থোর উড়ুম্বর ইচলি মাছে—খাইলে মুখের অরুচি ঘুচে'
'নটে শাক ফুলবড়ি চিংড়ি কাঁটাল বীচি দিয়া'
কটু তৈলে কই মৎস্য ভাজে পণদশ। মুঠে নিঙাড়িয়া তাতে দিল আদার রস॥

2 'বেদ অন্ত দরশনে ব্রহ্ম করি যারে ভণে অন্যে বলে পুরুষ প্রধান।
বিশ্বের পরম গতি হেতু অন্তরায় পতি তাঁরে মোর লাখ পরণাম॥

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society as embodied in the Smṛti of his time are each looked on as a partial view of the One God. He does not disregard any of the deities sanctioned in the Smṛti, but, in common with all other Smārta scholars of the time, he reveres them all. The Smṛti scholars of the mediæval times acknowledged five deities, and were, on that account, known as the 'pañcopāsakas.' Gaṇeśa, Sūrya, Śiva, Durgā and Viṣṇu, these were the five deities acknowledged by the Smārtas. Kavikaṅkaṇa commences his immortal work after invoking the aid of all these deities.

He is however of a philosophic temperament in the conception of the origin of things. In the theory of creation, he quotes the Sāṅkhya doctrine, modified by the later views adopted in the Purāṇas.

"The One God took various appearances,
The ear-ring is not, in fact, different from gold.
The Master deposited the seed upon Prakṛti,
And thus the beautiful son is born, called Mahān.
To Mahat is born the son called Ahaṃkāra,
From him came into existence the whole creation.
Five sons are born to Ahaṃkāra, whose names are,
Earth, Water, Fire, Sky and Air.
These Five are popularly named the Five Gross Elements.
Innumerable are the creatures that came into being out of these.
One God became Three owing to differences in Guṇa.
By the influence of the Rajas, came into being the Swan-carried god.
By the influence of the Sattva, came Viṣṇu, the Protector.
By the influence of Tamas, came Mahādeva, the Destroyer.[1]

This is apparently the language of the Sāṅkhya; but in fact, it is far removed from the Sāṅkhya doctrines. The origin of all this is to be found out not in any one of the philosophies, nor in the Upaniṣads, nor in the Mahābhārata. But it is a curious combination of all these, with the one object of making the religion popular among the uncul-

1 এক দেব নানামূর্ত্তি হৈলা মহাশয়। হেম হৈতে বস্তুতঃ কুণ্ডল ভিন্ন নয়॥
প্রকৃতিতে তেজ প্রভু করিলা আধান। রূপবান্ হইলা তাতে তনয় মহান্॥
মহতের পুত্র হৈলা নাম অহঙ্কার। যাহা হইতে হইল সৃষ্টি সকল সংসার॥
অহঙ্কার হইতে হইলা এই পঞ্চজন। পৃথিবী উদক তেজ আকাশ পবন॥
এই পঞ্চজনে লোকে বলে পঞ্চভূত। ইহা হইতে প্রাণিবর্গ হইলা বহুত॥
গুণভেদে এক দেব হৈলা তিন জন। রজোগুণে দেবরাজ মরাল-বাহন॥
সত্ত্বগুণে বিষ্ণুরূপে করেন পালন। তমোগুণে মহাদেব বিনাশকারণ॥

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tured folk, who can never tolerate the atheism of the Sāṅkhya, nor can they grasp the different philosophical doctrines. This is the Smṛti of Bengal. With the political object of the up-keep of the society, the Smṛti has had to adopt doctrines or no doctrines that could please the mass, who must have concrete gods to worship. The 'puruṣa' and the 'prakṛti' must be understood as the father and the mother; the 'Mahat' is therefore to be their son, who again is thought of as the father of five sons.

The two 'kula-devatās' ('the family deities') of the family of Kavikaṅkaṇa are the 'Cakrāditya Śiva' and the 'Siṃha-vāhinī Devī,' both of whom are non-Vaiṣṇava deities.[1] It would be paradoxical to hold that Kavikaṅkaṇa was a Vaiṣṇava and that he worshipped the Śākta deities as his 'kula-devatās'. But if we take the view that he held the religious views of a Smārta scholar, the absurdity is gone.

Kavikaṅkaṇa's grandfather is said to have been once a devout worshipper of Śiva, and subsequently to have been initiated into the ten-syllabled mantra of Gopāla.[2] He did not however give up the worship of his 'kuladevatās' on that account. Both the 'kuladevatās' still exist in the native village of Kavikaṅkaṇa. This is in agreement with the view that the poet was a Smārta. The family seems to have been all along tolerant of different religious views. It is to be noted however that the wavering grandfather says nothing as to the character of the grandson.

It is a characteristic of the purāṇic religion that when a particular god is praised, he is raised to the status of the Supreme Deity, apparently unmindful of the contradictory nature of such a statement. As a purāṇic scholar, Kavikaṅkaṇa also had the same defect. At one place, he describes himself as a being seated on the honey oozing out of the foot-lotus of Govinda;[3] but at another place, Caṇḍī is said to

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1 ধন্য ধন্য কলিকালে রত্নানু নদের কূলে অবতার করিলা শঙ্কর।
ধরি চক্রাদিত্য নাম দামিন্যা করিলা ধাম তীর্থ কৈলা সেই সে নগর ॥ ২০ পৃঃ
দামুন্যার ঠাকুর বন্দিব চক্রাদিত্য। যার পদযুগ সেবি রচিল কবিত্ব ॥ ১৭ পৃঃ

2 গর্ভেশ্বর অগ্রজাত, মহামিশ্র জগন্নাথ, একভাবে সেবিলা শঙ্কর।
বিশেষ পুণ্যের ধাম, গুণীরাজ মিশ্রনাম, কবিচন্দ্র তার বংশধর ॥ ২২ পৃঃ
কৈয়ড়ি বংশজাত, মহামিশ্র জগন্নাথ, একভাবে সেবিলা গোপাল।
কবিত্ব মাগিয়া বর, মন্ত্র জপি দশাক্ষর, মীনমাংস ছাড়ি বহুকাল ॥

3 গোবিন্দ পদারবিন্দে, বিগলিত মকরন্দে অলি কবি শ্রীমুকুন্দ কহে।

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be the very origin of Hari, Hara and Hiraṇya-garbha.[1] Although the poet proclaims to his hearers the non-Vālmīkian story that Rāmacandra invoked and worshipped the goddess Durgā, before he could slay the ten-headed demon, yet he is loud in his declaration of the greatness of Viṣṇu. Let me cite a legend quoted by the poet himself towards the end of his monumental work.

"Listen to me, my daughter, I shall tell you the history. One day, the god Pañcānana came a-begging to where Nārāyaṇa dwelt. The two were at once engaged in a familiar conversation, at the end of which Viṣṇu gave to the beggar god, various jewels and a garland of the 'pārijāta' flowers. When the latter came home to Kailāsa, each of his two sons, Guha and Gajānana, desired to have the garland. When the dispute between the two brothers reached a climax, the great god had to devise a means to settle the dispute. He said that the garland would be given away to that one of the two brothers who could undertake to finish the pilgrimage to all the tīrthas within the course of a single day. This pacified the two brothers, who agreed to undertake the journey at once. Kārtikeya began to wander from one tīrtha to another with the speed of the wind god ; but Gaṇeśa did not stir out. He devoted himself to taking the name of Hari, which act has all the merits that can be acquired by bathing in all the tīrthas. After some time, Gaṇeśa came to his father, and wanted the prize. The great god said : 'you are short of stature, my child, how is it that you have finished your pilgrimage to all the tīrthas so quickly ?' To this, Gaṇeśa replied : 'All the tīrthas assemble together at the place where a devoted Vaiṣṇava takes the name of Govinda.' Śiva was satisfied at this, and presented the garland to him. When Kārtikeya came home in the evening, he was extremely aggrieved to see the garland around the neck of Gaṇeśa, and accused his father of having deceived him. But in the philosophical discussion that ensued, Kārtikeya admitted his own defeat."[2]

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1 হরি-হর-হিরণ্য গর্ভের তুমি মূল।

2 অভয়া বলেন ঝিয়ে শুন ইতিহাস। হরিনাম গুণ দেখাইল কৃত্তিবাস॥
একদিন ভিক্ষাছলে দেব পঞ্চানন। বৈকুণ্ঠে মাগিতে ভিক্ষা করিলা গমন॥
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পারিজাত মালা দিল ক্ষীরোদকবাস। বিদায় হইয়া হর আইলা কৈলাস॥
মালা গলে দেখি গুহ বলে শুন বাপা। এই মালা মোরে দিবে যদি থাকে কৃপা॥
গণেশ ডাকিয়া দেয় মাথার শপথ। এই মালা মোরে দিয়া পূর মনোরথ॥

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Such a legend at the end of a work is tempting indeed, and, without a careful examination of the details of the whole of the text, the attribution of Vaiṣṇavism to the poet cannot possibly be withheld.

From what has been said, it appears clear and transparent that Kavikaṅkaṇa Mukundarāma Cakravartī was neither a Vaiṣṇava, nor a Śākta, nor a Śaiva, nor a Saura, nor a Gāṇapata ; but he was every thing. In other words, he was a believer in all the deities of the Smārta cult of mediæval Bengal.

BASANTA KUMAR CHATTERJEE

N. B. To take the name of Viṣṇu at the time of taking medicine, to take the name of Madhusūdana at the time of a distress, to take the name of Padmanābha while going to bed, to take the name of Śrīhari while starting out to some place, to cry an ejaculation of 'Hari balo' as a sign of joy, and expressions like 'Rākhē Hari, Mārē kē ?' (=Who can kill him whom Hari protects)—are very common in Bengal in the phrasæology of the Bengali language, and are used by people irrespective of caste or creed. But some of these expressions have been cited as evidences of the poet's Vaiṣṇavism.

* * * শিশুর কন্দল হর ভাঙ্গিতে নারিয়া। প্রবোধ করেন তায় উপায় সৃজিয়া॥
সর্ব্বতীর্থ করি যেবা আইসে একদিনে। অন্তে নাহি পায় মালা সেই জন বিনে॥
ইহা শুনি কার্ত্তিকের বাড়ে অনুরাগ। ময়ূর চড়িয়া গেল দক্ষিণ প্রয়াগ॥* * *
মূষিকবাহন মনে করিয়া ভাবনা। লইলা কৃষ্ণের নাম হয়ে দৃঢ়মনা॥ * * *
গজানন বলে প্রভু শুন পঞ্চানন। সর্ব্বতীর্থ হরিনাম দৃঢ় কৈলুঁ মন॥
যেখানে করয়ে ভক্ত গোবিন্দের গান। সেইখানে সর্ব্বতীর্থ হয় অধিষ্ঠান॥
হরি কথা প্রেমালাপে দোঁহে কুতূহলে। কৃপা করি দিলা মালা গণেশের গলে॥ * *
বেলা অবসান হৈল আইল ষড়ানন। মালা গলে দেখি হৈলা চমকিত মন॥
প্রকার করিয়া বাবা ভাণ্ডিলে আমারে। বিনা তীর্থে মালা দিলা দেব লম্বোদরে॥
বিচারে হারিলা শেষে দেব ষড়ানন। * *॥

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Hindu Calendar.

The early religion of the Hindus reveals an intimate knowledge of the times and seasons, and there was from the earliest times, to regulate their rites and ceremonies, a calendar setting forth the order in which they should be observed. This calendar, in the earlier periods, was of an imperfect character, which led to methods afterwards adopted for its improvement, generally with a view to its adaptation to religious rather than to secular uses.

Now, among all the nations, the fundamental periods of time, the day, the month, the year, are the same, the variations occurring in them being principally in the arrangement of the days to form months and years; in the sub-divisions of the day; in the times to be reckoned as the commencement of the day; whether at mid-night, sun-rise, or noon; in the sub-divisions of the year into months, differing from each other as to the number of days of each; in the various kinds of months to form the year, and the like. There have been in all nations certain difficulties experienced as to the time when the year should be reckoned to begin, and in the consequent arrangement of the months and seasons, so that they should recur at regular intervals.

The present Indian system has been thus described by Whitney:[1] "In the ordinary reckoning of time, these elements are variously combined. Throughout Southern India the year and month made use of are solar, and the day civil; the beginning of each month and year being counted, in practice, from the sun-rise nearest to the moment of their actual commencement. In all Northern India the year is luni-solar, the month is lunar and is divided into both lunar and civil days; the year is composed of a variable number of months, either twelve or thirteen, beginning always with the lunar month, of which the commencement next precedes the true commencement of the sidereal year. But underneath this division, the division of the actual sidereal year into twelve solar months is likewise kept up, and to maintain the concurrence of the civil and lunar days, and the lunar and solar months, is a process of great complexity, into the detail of which we need not enter here."

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1 Whitney's notes to the Sūrya Siddhānta, I, 13.

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These complications are, however, of later growth. The four ways of reckoning time, the Sāvana, the Cāndra, the Nākṣatra and the Saura, are not all referred to in the early works, and even in the later days all these measures of time were not fully utilised. The information about the calendar used in the Vedic times is gathered from stray references in the Vedic and classical literature of India. Tilak remarks, "There are several sacrificial hymns in the Ṛgveda, which show that the sacrificial ceremonies must have been considerably developed; and as no sacrificial system could be developed without the knowledge of months, seasons, and the year, it will not be too much to presume that in the Vedic times there must have existed a calendar to regulate the sacrifices. It is difficult to determine the exact nature of this calendar, but a study of the sacrificial literature would show that the phases of the moon, the changes in the seasons, and the southern and northern courses of the sun were the principal landmarks in the measurement of time in those early days. What is still more interesting, however, is that the leading features in the early sacrifices are the same as those in the year."[1]

The ancient Ṛṣis, therefore, prepared their calendar mainly for sacrificial purposes, and the performance of various sacrifices facilitated the maintenance of the calendar. When the course of sacrifices was completed, it was found that the year also had run its course, and the sacrifice and the year, therefore, became synonymous terms. There are passages in the Brāhmaṇas where Saṃvatsara and Yajña are used as convertible terms.[2]

The difficulties experienced by the Hindus in adjusting their calendar occasioned repeated changes of their system. "At one period the motion of the moon was taken as its foundation, and the lunar month was formed to agree with the phases of the moon. Then a change took place, and a solar month was formed, constituted so as to be reckoned by the time the sun, in its progress, remained in each sign of the solar Zodiac. Another change followed, efforts being made to reconcile the two previous systems, in which each kind of month preserved its original character, the solar month being reckoned

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1 Tilak's Orion, p. 11.

2 संवत्सरः प्रजापतिः। प्रजापतिर्यज्ञः।—Ait. Brāhmaṇa, ii,17; संवत्सरो वै प्रजापतिः प्रजापतिर्यज्ञः।—Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, ii, 2, 2, 4. Also Ait. Br., iv, 22; Śatapatha Br., xi, 1, 1, 1; 2, 71.

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in ordinary civil days, and the lunar months measured by *tithis* or lunar days, each being one-thirtieth part of a synodic period, the time elapsing between two conjunctions of the sun and the moon. The result of these efforts was the formation of the luni-solar year, either in civil days or in *tithis*."[1]

The ancient Hindus were struck with the daily appearance of the moon in the heavens and observed that the moon had a regular course among the stars. The moon moved from a star and came back to the same in 27 solar days. Hence they fixed the path of the moon in the heavens, and, because they found that the moon finished this course in 27 solar days, they divided the path in so many asterisms.

Moreover, the ancient Hindus found that the moon totally disappeared one night and again became full and round another night. They called these phases new and full moon and further observed that from one new moon to another or from one full moon to another the sun rises thirty times.[2] Hence one lunar month became equivalent to thirty days. The ancient Hindus further observed that the star that rose or set at sun-rise one day, would not do so after the lapse of several days.[3] They concluded that the sun like the moon moved among the stars in the heavens and that the sun took 12 months to complete this course. Thus according to this calculation a month consists of 30 days and a year contains 12 months.[4]

The Hindus from continued observations invented from their imaginative brain a table or arrangement beginning from the infinite time and ending with the minutest divisions of day. In the first chapter of Manu-saṃhitā, we get the following arrangement :

"The sun causes the division of day and night, which are of two sorts, those of men, and those of the gods ; the day for the work of

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1 Brennand's Hindu Astronomy, p. 58.

2 The word मास is derived from चन्द्रमस्, and month at first meant lunar month only. The Engiish words "moon" and "month" are similarly derived. The word "मास" also means चन्द्र as in सूर्यामासा (Ṛg-veda, 8, 94, 2). Another synonym for the moon is मासकृत्.

3 Tait. Brāhmaṇa, 1, 5, 2, 1.

4 Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, 4,6,1,11 ; 6,2,1,26 ; 6,2,2,5 and 12.

Also vide Prof. Jogesh Chandra Roy's book, "Our Astronomy and Astronomers," p. 10.

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all creatures in their several employments, the night for their slumber. A month is a day and night of the Pitṛs, and it is divided into two parts; the bright half is their day for work, and the dark half their night for sleep. A year is a day and night for the gods, and that also is divided into two parts; the day is when the sun moves towards the North; the night when it moves towards the South. Learn now the duration of the day and night of Brahmā, with that of the ages, respectively and in order. Four thousand years of the gods they call Kṛta (or Satya) age; and its limits at the beginning and at the end are in like manner as many hundreds. In the three successive ages, together with their limits, at the beginning and end of them are thousands and hundreds diminished by one. This aggregate of four ages, amounting to twelve thousand divine ages added together, must be considered as a day of Brahmā. His night has also the same duration. The above mentioned days of the gods, or twelve thousand of their years multiplied by seventy-one, form what is named here a Manvantara. There are alternate creations and destructions of worlds through innumerable Manvantaras. The Supreme Being performs this again and again."

A similar arrangement is given in astronomical works of later times, but with the ages reckoned in years of mortals. For comparison, the following extract is taken from the Sūrya Siddhānta[1]:

"A solar year consists of twelve solar months; and this is called a day of the gods.[2] An Ahorātra (day and night) of the gods and that of Asuras (demons) are mutually at the reverse of each other (viz., a day of the gods is the night of the demons, and, conversely, a night of the gods is a day of the demons). Sixty Ahorātras multiplied by six make a year of the gods and of the demons. The time containing twelve thousand years of the gods is called a Caturyuga (the aggregate of the four yugas, Kṛta, Tretā, Dvāpara and Kali). These four yugas, including their Sandhyā and Sandhyāṁśa,[3] contain 4,320,000 years. The tenth part of 4,320,000, the number of

1 Sūrya Siddhānta, I. 13-21.

2 The gods are supposed to reside on Mount Meru under the North Pole, where the day lasts for six months. The Asuras are said to reside in the South Pole.

3 The Sandhyā and Sandhyāṁśa are the dawn and evening twilight, and as the days of mortals have these, so from analogy, those of the gods had been likewise.

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years in a Great Yuga, multiplied by 4,3,2,1, respectively, make up the years of each of the four yugas, Kṛta, Tretā, Dvāpara and Kali, including their sixth part, which is collectively the number of years of Sandhyā and Sandhyāṃśa (the periods at the commencement and expiration of each yuga). Seventy-one Great Yugas (containing 306,720,000 solar years) constitute a Manvantara (a period from the beginning of a Manu to its end), and at the end of it, 1,728,000, the whole number of solar years of the Kṛta, is called its Sandhi; and it is the time when a universal deluge occurs. Fourteen such Manus, with their Sandhis, constitute a Kalpa, at the beginning of which is the fifteenth Sandhi, which contains as many years as a Kṛta does. Thus, a thousand of the Great Yugas make a Kalpa, a period which destroys the whole world. It is a day of the god Brahmā, and his night is equal to his day. The age of Brahmā consists of a hundred years, according to the enumeration of day and night. One-half of his age has elapsed, and this present Kalpa is the first in the remaining half of his age."

Mention of Kalpa, as a measure of time, though found in the Purāṇas and Saṃhitās of a later date, is nowhere to be found in the Vedas. The peculiar form in which the construction of the Kalpa is expressed attracted much attention in the western countries more than two centuries ago, and various theories were put forward to account for it. For the purpose of examining this construction, following backwards the order in which the Kalpa has been formed, we get:

1 Kalpa = 14 Manvantaras + 1 Kṛta

The Manvantara = 71 Mahāyugas + 1 Kṛta

1 Mahāyuga = $10 \times 432{,}000$ years

Kṛta = $4 \times 432{,}000$ years

Therefore, the Manvantara $= 710 \times 432{,}000 + 4 \times 432{,}000$

$= 714 \times 432{,}000$

Hence, the Kalpa $= (14 \times 714 + 4) \times 432{,}000$ years $= 4{,}320{,}000{,}000$

It will be seen that this number consists of two factors, $14 \times 714 + 4$, which has the form $mn + r = 10{,}000$, and the co-efficient 432,000. In this connection Brennand remarks: "The form of the number shows that its inventors had a special design in view in its construction, i.e., to multiply the Kali period with the significant figure 432 unchanged. If they had no other design, there would have been no reason why they should have deviated from the rule laid down in the Institutes of Manu, which only required that they should multiply the divine age by a thousand. If they had merely wished to multiply

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432,000 by 10,000, they would not have taken the trouble of putting the operation into such a singular form. It is clear that they did not wish to alter the factors already existing, in the Kali Yuga, namely, $60 \times 60 \times 60 \times 2$, and that they specially wished to multiply by 10,000, so that their system would still be in conformity with that which was established in the Institutes of Manu and in the Vedas. Now there are a great many ways in which they might have multiplied by 10,000, and the fact that they selected the special form $(14 \times 714 + 4)$ shows a design. The number is one out of the set $mn + r = 10{,}000$.[1] If we take m to be any number less than 100 which is not one of the eleven factors of $5^4 \times 2^4$ (each of which would divide 10,000 without a remainder), it would find by division a number which would have the form $mn + r$, and there would be 89 such cases, thus,

$$10{,}000 = 3 \times 3{,}333 + 1 = 6 \times 16{,}666 + 4 = 7 \times 1{,}428 + 4 = 9 \times 1{,}111 + 1$$
$$= 11 \times 909 + 1 = 12 \times 833 + 4 = 13 \times 769 + 3 = 14 \times 714 + 4$$

And so on, we might go through the whole of the 89 cases. Out of all these cases, it is incredible that the particular form $14 \times 714 + 4$ should have been selected by chance".[2]

It is, therefore, almost certain, that the astronomers who invented the Kalpa had made the discovery that in 714 years the Solstice had retrograded approximately 10°. Then the Solstice would have gone back 14° in 1,000 years or 140° in 10,000 years. In 140° there are 504,000 seconds, which, divided by 10,000, gives the precession equal to 50·4." This coincidence could not have happened by chance where there were so many adverse cases. Hence we may conclude that the construction of the Kalpa was designed to include a correct estimate of precession.

Next we come to the Mahāyuga. There are references to the Mahāyuga and the various yugas in the Vedas, the Saṃhitās and the Brāhmaṇas. We have already seen in the extracts from Manu Saṃhitā mentioned before that a Mahāyuga, which is the aggregate of the four yugas amounts to twelve thousand years of the gods ;

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1 It will be interesting to note here that $mn + r = 10{,}000$, is just one of the important indeterminate equations of the Hindus for the solution of which their early writers sometimes challenge each other in grotesque language. Vide the seventh and eighth sections of chapter XVIII, Brahmasphuṭa Siddhānta.

2 Brennand's Hindu Astronomy, p. 182.

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and one day (including night) of the gods is one year of the mortals, i.e., 360 Saura days. The ancient Saura day is the variable time which the sun takes in its motion over each degree of the Ecliptic, the aggregate being the same as the number of parts into which the circle of the Ecliptic is divided; and from this, the apparent sidereal revolution of the sun, or the sidereal year is 360 Saura days. But the Hindu astronomers also reckoned the sidereal year in mean solar time to be 365 days 6 hours 12 mins. 36 secs., according to Pulisa Siddhānta, or, as a mixed number to be $= 365\frac{2}{8}\frac{0}{0}\frac{7}{0}$ mean solar days. The Sūrya Siddhānta[1] adds a fraction of a second more to the length of the year, the Brahma Siddhānta makes the year less by about 27 seconds, and in the Ārya Siddhānta it is made less by about six seconds.

Therefore, the Mahāyuga = 12,000 × 360 Saura years = 4,320,000 Saura years, one year of the gods being equal to 360 Saura years, = $360 \times 365\frac{2}{8}\frac{0}{0}\frac{7}{0}$ mean solar days. The Mahāyuga is, therefore, equal to 1,577,917,800 mean solar days according to the Pulisa Siddhānta. The Sūrya Siddhānta makes it 28 days more, i.e., 1,577,917,828[2] mean solar days and the Brahma Siddhānta makes it 1350 days less. The Mahāyuga again was further subdivided and made up of the Kṛta, Tretā, Dvāpara and Kali yugas, in the following manner:

The Kṛta = four times the Kali and four-tenths of 4,320,000	= 1,728,000
The Tretā = thrice the Kali and three-tenths of 4,320,000	= 1,296,000
The Dvāpara = twice the Kali and two-tenths of 4,320,000	= 864,000
The Kali = one tenth of 4,320,000	= 432,000
Thus the total is	4,320,000 years

At each of these commencing epochs Hindu astronomers considered that the moving celestial bodies were in conjunction.

A difference of opinion existed among the more ancient astronomers as to whether their calculations ought to begin from the beginning of Brahman's life or the beginning of a Kalpa; and it is suggested in the Sūrya Siddhānta that the end of the Kṛta yuga is a convenient epoch, from which to compute easily the terrestrial days and to find the mean places of the planets. It says:[2]

"At the end of the Kṛta yuga the mean places of all the planets, except their nodes and apogees, coincide with each other in the first

1 Sūrya Siddhānta, I, 37.

2 Sūrya Siddhānta, I, 57 and 58.

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point of stellar Aries. At the same instant the place of the moon's apogee is nine signs, her ascending node is six signs, and the places of the other slow-moving apogees and nodes, whose revolutions are mentioned before, are not without degrees (i.e., they contain some signs and also degrees)."

But it will be seen that any one of the above epochs might be used for the purpose of computing the mean places of each; and as the Kali, the smallest period of all, was just as useful as the others for their purpose, it alone was generally used. So that this epoch is one of great importance in considering problems affecting Hindu astronomy as well as questions relating to their civil time.[1]

We have already said that yuga, as a measure of time, is mentioned several times in the Vedic literature.[2] It is also stated that three yugas have already elapsed.[3] In the Taittirīya Saṃhitā these three are mentioned by names, viz., Kṛta, Tretā and Dvāpara.[4] In the Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā also these names are given.[5] Then in the Brāhmaṇas all the four yugas are mentioned by names, viz., Kṛta, Tretā, Dvāpara and Kali.[6] It may be noted here that in the Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa, as well as in the Vedas, a cycle of five (or six years) is used which is also called a yuga.[7] These five were called saṃvatsara, parivatsara, idāvatsara, idvatsara, vatsara[8] (or anuvatsara).[9] Though these five years for a cycle are mentioned in most places as saṃvatsara, parivatsara, idāvatsara, anuvatsara and idvatsara, yet sometimes only four years are mentioned by names as in Tait. Br., i, 4, 10. Sometimes six years also are given for a cycle and the name of *iduvatsara* is added to the list.[10] But the cycle of five years was more current not only at the time of the Vedas, but also after the vedic period and even at the time of the Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa.[11] The

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1 Brennand's Hindu Astronomy, p. 36.

2 Ṛgveda, x, 72,2 ; i, 103,4 ; v, 52,4 ; v, 73,3 ; i, 158,6 ; vi, 8,5.

3 Ibid., x, 97,1 ; Tait. Saṃhitā and Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā, 12,75 ; Sāyaṇa names them as Kṛta, Tretā and Dvāpara.

4 Tait. Saṃhitā, iv, 3,3.

5 Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā, 30,18.

6 Tait. Brāhmaṇa, iii,4,1 ; Ait. Brāhmaṇa, 33,15.

7 Ṛgveda, vii, 103, 7,8.

8 Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā, 26, 45 ; 30, 15 and Tait. Br., iii, 4, i.

9 Tait. Br., i, 4, 10. 10 Tait. Br., iii, 10, 4.

11 S. B. Dikshit's Bhāratīya Jyotiḥ śāstra, p. 37.

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importance of the cycle of five or six years is this :—a lunar month consisted of 30 days, and 360 days were regarded to constitute a year : this was about $5\frac{1}{3}$ days too short. This required an intercalation to be admitted in the quinquennial period by doubling one month. There were, moreover, the two cycles of Jupiter. One was Bṛhaspati's (or Jupiter's) year consisting of nearly 12 Saura years, the other the cycle consisting of 60 years. Each of the sixty years was called Bṛhaspati Mana, or Madhyama, his mean motion through one sign. These years had each a separate name. The cycle of Bṛhaspati of 12 years, as described by Parāśara, quoted by Varāhamihira, is thus explained :

"The name of the year is determined from the Nakṣatra in which Bṛhaspati rises and sets heliacally, and they follow in the order of the lunar months. The years beginning with Kārtika commence with the Nakṣatra Kṛttikā, and to each there appertain two Nakṣatras, except the 5th, 11th and 12th years, to each of which appertain three Nakṣatras."

There was a difference of opinion amongst the Hindu astronomers regarding the naming of these years.. The names and order of the twelve Bṛhaspati years were not the same as those of the cycle of 60. According to Śaśipura and others, the Nakṣatra in which the Jupiter rises, gives the name to the year. Kāśyapa says that the name of the Saṃvatsara yuga and the years of the cycle of 60 are determined by the Nakṣatra in which he rises. Garga gives the same account. Some make the cycle to begin on the first day of the month of Caitra, etc., whatever may be the Nakṣatra in which Bṛhaspati stands. According to Parāśara, who mentions also the character distinguished as good or bad with the names and order of the corresponding Nakṣatras, they are as follows, with the presiding deities :

Years	*Nakṣatras*	*Deities*	*Character*
Kārtika	Kṛttikā, Rohiṇī	Viṣṇu	Bad
Agrahāyaṇa or Mārgaśīrṣa	Mṛgaśiras, Ārdrā	Sūrya	Bad
Pauṣa	Punarvasu, Puṣyā	Indra	Good
Māgha	Aśleṣā, Maghā	Agni	Bad
Phālguna	Pūrva-phalgunī, Uttara-phalgunī, Hastā	Tvaṣṭṛ	Neutral
Caitra	Citrā, Svāti	Ahivradhna	Good
Vaiśākha	Viśākhā, Anurādhā	Pitṛs	Bad

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Years	*Nakṣatras*	*Deities*	*Character*
Jyaiṣṭha	Jyeṣṭhā, Mūlā	Viśva	Bad
Āṣāḍha	Pūrvāhṣāḍā, Uttarāhṣāḍā,	Soma	Good
Śrāvaṇa	Śravaṇā, Dhaniṣṭhā	Indrāgnī	Good
Bhādra	Śatabhiṣāj, Pūrva-bhādrapada, Uttara-bhādrapada	Aśvinī	Good
Āśvina	Revatī, Aśvinī, Bharaṇī		

The commentator on Parāśara says : "It is in the Soma Siddhānta that the presiding deities are thus stated."

In the cycle of 60 years are contained five cycles of twelve years, which five cycles or yugas have already been named—

Saṃvatsara, over which presides Agni
Parivatsara, over which presides Āditya
Idāvatsara, over which presides Candramas
Anuvatsara, over which presides Vāyu[1] or Brahman
Idvatsara, over which presides Śiva.

Parāśara says : "the first year of the cycle of sixty, named Prabhava, begins when, in the month of Māgha, Bṛhaspati rises in the first degree of the Nakṣatra Dhaniṣṭhā, because when Bṛhaspati rises in 9 signs 23° 20′, Sūrya (the sun) must be 10 signs 6° 12′." Parāśara gives the names of all the sixty years of Bṛhaspati, beginning with Prabhava as the first.[2]

Brennand remarks that "this cycle of 60 years was brought into India by the immigrant tribes who came to settle in India from Central Asia, and was afterwards known as the cycle of Bṛhaspati. It is a combination of two cycles, a cycle of five years from the Vedas or Jyotiṣa Vedāṅga, and the sidereal period of the planet Bṛhaspati, which was at first reckoned to be 12 years, but was afterwards found by the Hindus to be 11·860962 years. According to Laplace, the mean sidereal period is 11·862 Julian years, or ·138 of a year short of 12 years, an error of about 8½ months in 60 years, and would, therefore, require periodic correction."[3]

It will be interesting to note here that the Chinese History and

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1 Tait. Br., i, 4, 10.

2 Vide the article on "The Indian cycle of 60 years" by Davis, Asiatic Researches, vol. III, Calcutta, where the order in which these years are arranged is given in a very illuminating figure.

3 Brennand, Hindu Astronomy, p. 22.

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the Annals of the Chinese emperors were written by reference to cycles of 60 years. Such a period of time was, moreover, in common use in Chaldea, under the name of Sosos, as mentioned by Berosus. It is stated by several writers, both Persian and Greek, that, besides the Sosos of 60 years, the Chaldeans had in use several other cycles, one of 600 years, called the Neros, another of 3,600 years. They had also a period called the Saros, consisting of 323 complete lunations in 19 years, after the expiry of which period, the new and full moons fall on the same days of the year, i.e., recur as in the previous period.

Now we proceed to discuss the character of a year. We have already said that the sacrifice and the year seem to have early become synonymous terms, and that there are many passages in the Brāhmaṇas and Saṃhitās, where Saṃvatsara and Yajña are declared to be convertible terms. It is believed that the Vedic Ṛṣis kept up their calendar by performing the corresponding round of sacrifices on the sacred fire that constantly burnt in their houses, like the fire of the Parsi priest in modern times. The etymological meaning of the word ṛtvij (ṛtu+yaj=officiating priest at *season sacrifice*) shows that even in the oldest days there existed a certain correspondence between the sacrifices and the seasons, and what is true of the seasons is true of the year, which, according to one derivation of Saṃvatsara, is nothing but a period where seasons dwell, or which is a cycle of seasons.[1] We have now to examine the principal parts of the year i.e., the sacrifice. The Ṛgvedic Ṛṣis said, "Who knows that there is one wheel (cakra), twelve circumferences, three foci and 360 spokes?"[2] The wheel is the Saṃvatsara, the twelve circumferences are the twelve months, the three foci are the three four-monthly satras (sacrifices) and the 360 spokes are the 360 days in one year. The Sāvana or the civil day appears to have been, as its etymology shows, selected[3] in these cases

1 Dr. Schrader, in his Prehistoric Antiquities of the Aryan Peoples, part IV, chap. VI, p. 305, also makes a similar observation. He holds, on philological grounds, that the conception was already formed in the primeval period by combining into one whole the conception of winter and summer which he believes to be the two primeval seasons. Vide Orion, p. 13.

2 Ṛgveda, i, 164, 48.

3 Sāvana is derived from √su to extract (Soma-juice) in a sacrifice, and means literally a sacrificial day.

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as the natural unit of time; 30 such days made a month, and 12 such months or 360 sāvana days made a year.[1] But a year of 360 days was about 6 days too short. For this reason, the sun and the moon would not return at the end of a year to the same star as was their starting point at the beginning of the year. In five years the number of days was about 30 days too short. Hence unless in a cycle of five years one month is added to the twelve months, the harmony between the months and the year and therefore between the year and the seasons is lost. Now a month of thirty civil or Sāvana days cannot correspond with a lunar synodical month, and the Brahmavādins had therefore to omit a day in some of the sāvana months to secure the concurrence of the civil and the lunar months.[2] The year of 360 Sāvana days was thus practically reduced to a lunar year of 354 civil days or 360 tithis. But a further correction was necessary to adjust the lunar with the solar reckoning of time. The commencement of the cycle of seasons was, therefore, the only means to correct the calendar. The devise of the intercalary days or month was for that purpose very early hit upon by the ancient Hindus. The Vājasaneyi and Taittirīya Saṃhitās, the Brāhmaṇas and the Ṛgveda mention the intercalary month.[3] The Ṛgveda says, "He who is dhṛtavrata (observant of penances) knows the twelve months with their respective merits and also the thirteenth month that is intercalated."[4] It is, therefore, an undisputed fact that in the old Vedic days means were devised and adopted to secure the correspondence of the lunar with the solar year. The ancient Hindus found that though 30 tithis or lunar days made one month, 12 lunar months or 360 lunar days did not make one year. The sun takes 366 Sāvana days to complete one revolution. Hence 366 civil or Sāvana days were reckoned to constitute a year. We have already said that the

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1 Ait. Br., ii, 17; Tait. Saṃhitā, ii, 5, 8, 3; Ṛgveda, i, 164,48; Śatapatha Br., ii, 2, 2, 35; vii, 2, 4, 9, 16, 22; ii, 2, 2, 4.

2 Tait. Saṃhitā, vii, 5, 7, 1; Taṇḍya Br., v, 10.

3 Tait. Saṃhitā, i, 4, 14; Vāj. Sam., 7, 30; Śatapatha Br., ii, 2, 3, 27; iii, 6, 4, 24; v, 4, 5, 23; vi, 2, 2, 29; vii, 7, 1, 28. As regards the twelve hallowed (intercalary) nights, vide Ṛgveda, iv, 33, 7; Atharvaveda, iv, 11, 11; Tait. Br., i, 9, 10. For other allusions to intercalary months in the Vedic texts, see Weber, Nakṣatra, ii, p. 336.

4 Ṛgveda, i, 25, 8.

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twelve lunar months were reduced to 354 civil or Sāvana days. Therefore twelve (366−354=12) days were required to balance the lunar with the solar year. They were in fact the supplementary days or special days. The sacrificial literature of India still preserve the memory of these days by ordaining that a person wishing to perform a yearly sacrifice should devote twelve days (dvādaśāha) before its commencement to the preparatory rites.

Thus we find that a complete lunation is measured by 30 lunar days, some of which, of course, must in alternate months be sunk, to make the dates agree with the Nychthemera, for which purpose the sixty-second day appears to be deducted, and thus the cycle of five years consists of 1860 lunar days or 1830 Nychthemera, subject to further correction. As twelve days fall short in one year, a month will have to be added after 32 solar months, or after 2 years and 8 months, and again, two months after 5 years and 4 months. From this it is obvious that a cycle of five years was too short for making the intercalation; a much longer cyclic period was necessary, so that an exact number of lunar months shall coincide with an exact number of solar months, and so that only a small fraction of a year or no fraction at all shall remain. The rule in the Vedas for subtracting the sixty-second day is not quite so correct as that of Bhāskara, who says that the subtracted day occurs in $64\frac{1}{11}$ lunar days (tithis).[1] In this connection Colebrooke says that "the progress of these corrections may be traced from the cycle of five to that of sixty lunar years (which is noticed in many popular treatises on the calendar, and in the commentary of the Jyotiṣa) and thence to one of 60 years of Bṛhaspati (Jupiter), and finally to the greater astronomical period of 12,000 years of the gods, and a hundred years of Brahmā."

The Taittirīya Saṃhitā sums up the different constituents of a year thus: "There are six seasons, twelve months and also thirteen months in a year, fifteen nights in a half-month, twenty-four half-months[2] in a month[3], and three hundred and sixty nights in a year."[4]

One question now arises whether the solar year, with reference to which the above corrections were made, was tropical or sidereal. It is true that the primary object of the calendar was to ascertain the exact time of the seasons. But the changes in the seasons conse-

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1 Brennand, Hindu Astronomy, p. 60.

2 Vide Śatapatha Br., ii, 2, 2, 5. 3 Vide Śatapatha Br., ii,2,2, 35.

4 Tait. Saṃhitā, v, 6, 7; vii, 5, 1.

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quent upon the precession of the equinoxes are so exceedingly minute as to become appreciable only after hundreds of years. Under the primeval system, therefore, the year would naturally be said to be complete when the sun returned to the same fixed star. Prof. Whitney has pointed out that the same system is followed in the Sūrya Siddhānta, though the motion of the equinoxes was then discovered.[1] Therefore, the solar year mentioned in the Vedic works was sidereal and not tropical.

The difference between the sidereal and the tropical year is 20.4 minutes, which causes the seasons to fall back nearly one lunar month in about every two thousand years, if the sidereal solar year be taken as the standard of measurement. When these changes and corrections were noted for the first time, they must have created a great deal of surprise, and it was not till after one or two adjustments on this account were made that their true reason, the motion of the equinoxes, could have been discovered.

The next division of time was the month. The Vedic month was lunar and was reckoned from one full moon to another full moon and, later, sometimes, from one new moon to another new moon.[2] We have already said that the word मास is derived from चन्द्रमस् and a month at first meant a lunar month only. The etymology of the word पूर्णमास shows that a month has been full or complete. The solar months came into use with the invention of the signs of the Zodiac and we know the signs Meṣa (Aries) etc. were not known at the time of the earlier Vedic literature. We know that the Vedic literature—Saṃhitā and Brāhmaṇa—falls into two classes, one part written at an earlier period and the other at a later period. Even the different chapters of the same book come under this classification. For example, the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa contains fourteen Kāṇḍas, of which ten Kāṇḍas containing sixty chapters were written at an earlier period and the remaining four Kāṇḍas containing thirty four chapters were of later origin. The nomenclature given to the twelve months in the earlier period is a peculiar one and differs entirely from the later nomenclature. Let us first discuss the earlier nomenclature. A

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1 Vide Burgess and Whitney, Sūrya Siddhānta, i, 13, n. "It is, however, not the tropical solar year which we employ, but the sidereal, no account being made of the precession of the equinoxes."

2 Tait. Saṃhitā, i, 6, 7; vii, 5, 6. Vide also S.B. Dikshit's Bhāratiya Jyotiḥ Śāstra, p 41, 42.

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detailed description of this nomenclature is given in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.[1] It is also given in the Taittirīya Saṃhitā and the Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā in detail.[2] Madhu and Mādhava are the spring months when plants sprout and trees are brought to ripeness; Śukra and Śuci are the summer months, when the sun burns fiercest and clearest: Śukra means clear and Śuci means bright; Nabhas and Nabhasya are the months of the rainy season: Nabhas means mist or cloud; Iṣa and Ūrja are the autumn months, because in autumn food (ūrja) and juice (plants) ripen; Sahas and Sahasya are the winter months, because the winter by force (sahas) brings the creatures into his power; Tapas and Tapasya are the months of the dewy season, because during them it freezes most severely.

At the time we are speaking of, the intercalary month was called by three names, viz., saṃsarpa, malimluca and aṃhasaspati.[3] The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa remarks that practically there is no thirteenth month.[4] It may be pointed out here that under the present system of nomenclature the intercalary month has got no separate name; when there is an intercalary month in any year, that month is named after the previous month with the prefix *adhika*; for example, if an intercalary month comes after Vaisākha, it is called Adhika Vaisākha; the year 1850 Śaka Saṃvat, the current year in the Upper India, has got an intercalary month after Śrāvaṇa and this is called Adhika Śrāvaṇa. The intercalary month was generally introduced after 32 or 33 months; but according to the Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa the intercalary month should come after thirty months. Three denominations of the intercalary month, viz., saṃsarpa, malimluca, and aṃhaspati (or aṃhasaspati) were further distinguished. "The lunar month passed over by the sun is called Malimluca" (Vyāsa Saṃhitā); it is further explained thus: "If the sun passes over one sign in two months, the earlier month is called Malimluca, and the latter, the pure (regular) month" (Maitreya Sūtra). "The intercalary month without a Saṃkrānti day is called Saṃsarpa and the intercalary month which contains two Saṃkrānti days is called Aṃhaspati" (Nārada Saṃhita). Saṃkrānti is the time when the sun passes from one sign to another. Hence

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1 Śatapatha Br., iv, 3, 1, 14-19.

2 Tait. Saṃ., 1,4,14; iv,4,11. Vājasaneyi Saṃ., viii, 30; xiii, 25; xiv, 6, 15; xvi, 27; xxii, 31.

3 Vājasaneyi Saṃ., vii, 30; xxii, 30.

4 Ait. Br., 3,1.

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in one intercalary month the sun does not pass on to another sign, in the other the sun passes twice.

Another system of nomenclature for the months, half-months and seasons is given in the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa.[1] The months are as follows : Aruṇa, Aruṇarajas, Puṇḍarīka, Viśvajit, Abhijit, Ārdra, Pinvamāna, Annavān, Rasavān, Irāvān, Sarauṣadha and Sambhara ; the thirteenth month was named Mahasvān.[2] The half-months were : Pavitra, Pavayiṣyan, Pūta, Medhya, Yaśas, Yaśasvān, Āyu, Amṛta, Jīva, Jīviṣyan, Svarga, Loka, Sahasvān, Sahīyān, Ojasvān, Saḥamāna, Jayan, Abhijayan, Sudraviṇa, Draviṇodas, Ārdrapavitra, Harikeśa. Moda and Pramoda.[3] The three seasons mentioned are Agni, Sūrya and Candra.[4]

We have already said that the system of nomenclature beginning with Caitra was not current in the earlier Vedic period ; its trace is not found in the Aitareya Brāhmāṇa, Taittirīya Saṃhitā and Brāhmaṇa, and the Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā and Brāhmaṇa. In order to arrive at the second system of nomenclature three stages were passed ; first, the names of the Nakṣatras were known and the union of the moon with a certain Nakṣatra (lunar asterism) in which the moon was supposed to be full at that time was also known ; secondly, the naming of the full moon after the asterism, e. g., Caitrī Pūrṇimā, Vaisākhī Pūrṇimā, etc., was next adopted ; and thirdly, the month derived its name from the asterism in which the union took place, the moon being full. The names of the Nakṣatras or asterisms can, no doubt, be found in the earlier Vedic literature. The naming of the full moon after the asterism is also found in some places.[5] This much of the second system of nomenclature was reached even in the later part of the Vedic literature. The actual use of the names of the months in the order Caitra, Vaiśākha, etc. was not in vogue at the time of the Vedic Saṃhitā and Brāhmaṇa. The second system came into force long after the system beginning with Madhu was

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1 Tait. Br., iii, 10, 9. 2 Tait. Br., iii, 10, 1.

3 Tait. Br., iii, 10, 1. 4 Ibid.

5 Tait. Br., vii, 4, 8 ; 1, 2, 8. Śatapatha Br.,—Eṣā ha saṃvatsarasya prathamā rātrir yā phālgunī pūrṇamāsī.

Tāṇḍya Br., v, 9 ; Gopatha Br., vi, 19 ; Śāṃkhāyana Br.—Yā vaiṣā phālgunī pūrṇamāsī saṃvatsarasya prathamā rātriḥ. Sāmavidhāna Br., ii, 4.

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invented. In this system, we have already remarked, the months were named after the asterisms thus :

Month	*Lunar Asterism*	*Month*	*Lunar Asterism*
Māgha	Maghā	Śrāvaṇa	Śravaṇā
Phālguna	Uttaraphalgunī	Bhādra	Pūrvabhādrapada
Caitra	Citrā	Āśvina	Asvinī
Vaiśākha	Viśākhā	Kārtika	Kṛttikā
Jyaiṣṭha	Jyeṣṭhā	Mārgaśīrṣa	Mṛgasiras
Āṣāḍha	Pūrvāṣāḍhā	Pauṣa	Puṣyā

It is difficult to state with accuracy the date when this adjustment of the months to the Nakṣatras took place. But mention of these names is frequently made in the Manu Saṃhitā, in connection with the times when ceremonies or prescribed duties should be performed. A few extracts containing the names are given below :

"On the days of the conjunction and opposition let him (the father of a family) constantly make those oblations which are hallowed by the Gāyatri, and those which avert misfortunes, but on the eighth and ninth lunar days of the three dark fortnights at the end of Agrahāyaṇa (Mārgaśīrṣa) let him always do reverence to the Manes of ancestors.

"In the month of Āśvina let him (the father of a family) cast away the food of sages, which he before had laid up, and his vesture, then become old, and his herbs and roots ; the sun in the sign of Kanyā (Virgin) must be shunned.

"Having duly performed the Upākrama (or ceremony for commencing the study of the Vedas) at the full moon of Śrāvaṇa or Bhādra, let the Brahmin fully exert his intellectual powers, and read the Vedas during four months and one fortnight.

"Under the Lunar Asterism of Puṣyā, or on the first day of the bright half of Māgha, and in the first part of the day, let him perform out of the town the ceremony Utsarga of the Vedas.

"Let him (the king) set out in his expedition in the fair month of Mārgaśīrṣa, or about the month of Phālguna and Caitra, according to the number of his forces, that he may find autumnal or vernal crops in the land invaded by him."

From the above extracts it may be inferred that before the time when the Manu Saṃhitā was composed or compiled, the names of the months after the asterisms were widely known, and that a long unmeasured anterior period must have elapsed before such a system could have been so universally known and established.

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It should be mentioned here that though the months were originally lunar,[1] their names being derived from the Nakṣatras in which the moon departing from a particular point was observed to be full,yet,later, the months became solar, when the sun would be in the same Nakṣatra as before but diametrically opposite to the position of the moon. When did the solar months come into use? The Vedic literature contains the frequent mention of the synodic period or the lunar month, but nowhere in it is there any clear indication of the solar month. A solar month is the period the sun takes to pass through one division of the Zodiac which is divided into twelve parts. The twelve signs beginning with Meṣa are not mentioned in the Vedas. Therefore, the solar months must have been in vogue after the Vedic period. But the period from one full moon to another or from one new moon to another which must obviously mean a lunar month is still in use in some parts of India. In fact, the solar month did not meet with so much favour as the solar year which has been universally accepted in India.

The next division of time was that of a month into two parts.[2] The Atharvaveda says, "Prajāpati is the month, Kṛṣṇapakṣa is his sun and Śuklapakṣa is his life." But the two parts of the month were called more often by the names, Pūrva-pakṣa and Apara-pakṣa.[3] In the Pūrva-pakṣa the Devas were created and in the Apara-pakṣa the Asuras. In the Pūrva-pakṣa the moon becomes newer and newer and in the Apara-pakṣa thinner and thinner. Such is the description of the two pakṣas in the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa. Śukla is, therefore, the Pūrva-pakṣa when the moon becomes fuller and fuller, till it becomes the full moon, i.e., the period after a new moon to a full moon is called Śukla-pakṣa or the bright half; and the period after a full

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1 It will be interesting to mention here that the lunar month has a different beginning in different parts of India. In Bengal it begins at the full moon or Pūrṇimā—the midnight of the Pitṛs.

2 Some say that this division was done by way of analogy; as the day of the Pitṛs was divided into two parts, by mid-day and mid-night, when the moon was in opposition or conjunction, so the month was divided into two parts, the bright half and the dark half, or as they are called, the Śuklapakṣa and Kṛṣṇapakṣa, each part or pakṣa consisting of 15 lunar days or tithis.

3 Tait. Br., ii, 2,3, 1; iii, 10, 4, 1.

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moon to a new moon is called Kṛṣṇa-pakṣa or the dark half. The names Śukla and Kṛṣṇa[1] replaced Pūrva and Apara long after the Vedic age, as they are not mentioned in the Vedic Saṃhitā or Brāhmaṇa.

The days and nights of the two parts of a month had also different nomenclatures.[2] The days of the Pūrva or Śukla pakṣa were called saṃjñānam, vijñānam, prajñānam, jānat, abhijānat, saṃkalpamānam, prakalpamānam, upakalpamānam, upakḷptam, kḷptam śreyas, vasīyas, āyat, sambhūtaṃ and bhūtam;[3] the nights were called darśā, dṛṣṭā, darśatā, visvarūpā, sudarśanā, āpyāyamanā, pyāyamanā, pyāyā, sūnṛterā, āpūryamāṇā pūryamāṇā, pūrayantī, pūrṇā and paurṇamāsī.[4] The days of the Apara or Kṛṣṇa pakṣa were called prastutam, viṣṭutam, saṃstutam, kalyāṇaṃ, viśvarūpam, śukram, amṛtam, tejasvī, tejas, samṛddham, aruṇam, bhānumat, marīcimat, abhitapat and tapasyat[5]; the nights were called sutā, sunvatī, prasutā, sūyamānā, abhiṣūyamāṇā, pītī, prapā, sampā, tṛpti, tarpayantī, kāntā, kāmyā, kāmajātā, āyuṣmatī and kāmadughā.[6] The days were neuter as "aha" is neuter and the nights were feminine as "rātri" is feminine. Here it may be noticed that the last night of the Pūrva or Śukla pakṣa was called Paurṇamāsī, but the last night of the Apara or Kṛṣṇa pakṣa is not called Amāvāsyā, it is called Kāmadughā. It is not known why the latter name was chosen.

We have seen that a lunar month consists of thirty lunar days; but one lunar day is not equal to a sāvana day which period is the time intervening between one sun-rise to the next. Thirty lunar days are, therefore, equivalent to twentynine and a half sāvana days. This period is divided into thirty equal parts and each part is called a tithi. A tithi is then shorter than a solar day which is called divasa (vāra or vāsara). Hence it is found that sometimes two tithis fall in one sāvana day; this occurs generally once in a month. What is a tithi? The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa says, "It is the period between the setting and the next rising of the moon"[7] The moon has fifteen phases or fifteen tithis, in fifteen the moon wanes and in the next

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1 Śukla and Kṛṣṇa are mentioned in the Atharva Jyotiṣa.
2 Tait. Br, iii, 10, 10, 2
3 Ibid., iii, 10, 1, 1.
4 Ibid., iii, 10, 1, 1.
5 Ibid., iii, 10, 1, 2.
6 Ibid., iii, 10, 1, 2 and 3.
7 "Yām paryastam iyād abhyudiyād iti sā tithiḥ."—Ait. Br., 32, 10.

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fifteen the moon waxes.[1] The tithis are respectively called pratipad, dvitīyā, tṛtiyā, caturthī, pañcamī, ṣaṣṭhī, saptamī, aṣṭamī, navamī, daśamī, ekādaśī, dvādaśī, trayodaśī, caturdaśī, pūrṇimā or amāvasyā. Whether the tithi falls in the Śukla pakṣa or in the Kṛṣṇa pakṣa is known by the addition of the word Śukla or Kṛṣṇa before the tithi, e.g., Kṛṣṇa-pañcamī which means pañcamī of the Kṛṣṇa pakṣa, Śukla-caturdaśī which means caturdaśī of the Śukla pakṣa, etc.[2] There is mention of another period called aṣṭakā in the Vedic literature.[3] The first eight days of a pakṣa is called aṣṭaka. There is paurṇamāsī aṣṭakā and there is amāvāsyā aṣṭakā :[4] there are twelve paurṇamāsī aṣṭakās and twelve amāvāsyā aṣṭakās.[5] The Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa says, "the first eight days after a Pūrṇimā, i.e, of a Kṛṣṇa pakṣa comprise a period called aṣṭakā and the other days are called ahas ; and the first eight days of a Śukla pakṣa comprise a period called udṛṣṭa and the other days are called ahas."[6] In this connection it will be interesting to cite here the explanation given by the Brāhmaṇas regarding the denomination of amāvasyā. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa says, "The gods said,"Nothing but Soma will satiate him; let us prepare Soma for him !" They prepared Soma for him. Now this king Soma, the food of the gods, is no other than the moon. When he (the moon) is not seen that night either in the east or in the west, then he visits this world and here he enters into the waters and plants. He is indeed a treasure for the gods, he is their food. And since during that night he here dwells together (amā vas) therefore that (night of new moon) is called amāvāsyā"[7] The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa says, "In an amāvasyā the moon enters the sun. In fact, the moon is born of the sun.[8] There is mention of two special nomenclatures for the amāvāsyā and the pūrṇimā to which we must refer. In the Matsya Purāṇa and in the Vāyu Purāṇa it is said that in an amāvasyā the moon and the sun coming together looks on one another ; hence amāvasyā is called darśa. The pūrṇimā is called parvan. The Ṛg-veda also mentions another set of names for amāvāsyā and pūrṇimā, viz., Rākā and Sinīvalī[9] There are two other names mentioned in

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1 Tait. Br., i, 5, 10. 2 Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa, ii, 6, 8 ; iii, 3.
3 Tait. Br., i, 5; 12. 4 Tait. Br., iii. 11, 1, 19.
5 Tāṇḍya Br., x, 3. 11.
6 Tait. Br., i, 8, 10, 2 ; Tāṇḍya Br., xviii, 11, 8.
7 Śatapatha Br., i, 6, 4, 5 ; vi, 2, 2, 16 ; xi, 1, 5, 1.
8 Ait. Br., 40, 5. 9 Ṛgveda, ii, 32.

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the Brāhmaṇas, viz., anumati and kuhū. Paurṇamāsī if fallen on the tithi caturdaśī is called anumati, that falling on the tithi pratipad is called rākā; amāvāsyā, falling on the tithi caturdaśī is called sinīvalī and that falling on pratipad is called kuhū.[1] It is not possible to ascertain how some of these names were coined and what special significance they bore at the time of their first use. In vain should we now search for their previous implication and whatever meaning some of these names had got before, they surely lost their former import long ago.

The next division of the calendar that is of great importance is the week consisting of seven days. In the Vedic literature we get no separate names for the seven days; there is only one common name for the seven, and that is called vāsara.[2] Sāyaṇa has explained vāsara as divasa and has given the literal meaning as "nivāsaka" or "nivāsasya hetubhūta." It means the time when the sun lives. There is another passage in the Ṛgveda where the word vāsara has been used in the literal sense, namely jagadvāsaka.[3] In the Atharva Jyotiṣa the seven deities presiding over the seven days of a week are mentioned; they are Āditya, Soma, Bhauma, Budha, Bṛhaspati, Bhārgava and Śanaiścara.[4] Invariably a connection is sought to be established between the days and the planets. In the Yājñavalkya Smṛti nine planets are mentioned in connection with the sacrifice of the planets: they are Sūrya, Soma, Mahīputra, Somaputra, Bṛhaspati, Śanaiścara, Rāhu and Ketu.[5] But nowhere the names of the seven days over which the seven planets preside are given. Even in the Mahābhārata the seven days are not given by names. There is only a solitary mention of the word "vāra" in connection with the anecdote of the Rākṣasa in the Ekacakranagara.[6] There "vāra" has been used in the sense of "a single time," "once" and "not twice." The names of the seven days came into vogue long after the Vedic or the Paurāṇic age. Though the planets which were supposed to preside over the seven days were mentioned by names in several places, yet the naming

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1 Ait. Br., 32, 10; Gopatha Br., vi, 10

2 Ṛgveda, viii, 6, 30.

3 Ṛgveda, viii, 48, 7.

4 Atharva Jyotiṣa, Śl. 93. The Atharva Jyotiṣa consists of 162 ślokas and 14 chapters.

5 Ācarādhyāya, verse 295.

6 Mahābhārata, Ādi Parva, chap. 160.

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of the seven days after the respective presiding planets was of a much later period. It is believed that the Hindus got this practice of naming the seven days of the week, Ravi (or Sūrya), Soma, Maṅgala, Budha, Bṛhaspati, Śukra and Śanaiścara, after the presiding planets, from the Chaldeans who had from very early times this usage current amongst them.[1]

The next division of time is the divasa or day. We have seen that the Saura or solar months, each consisting of 30 Saura days or 30 degrees, are of unequal length reckoned in mean solar days on account of the unequal motion of the sun in the ecliptic, but the aggregate is equal to the sidereal year, which in the Sūrya Siddhānta is reckoned to be 365 days 6 hours 12 minutes 36·56 seconds and the mean Saura, or solar month, would, therefore, be 30 days 10 hours 31 minutes 3·5 seconds.[2] The Saura month of the greatest length is Āṣāḍha, consisting of 31 days 14 hours 39 minutes 7 seconds ; and the least is Pauṣa which is 29 days 8 hours 21 minutes 7 seconds. We have already said that the lunar month and the lunar day were at first used which subsequently gave place to the solar month and the solar day. Now what is a Sāvana or solar day ? The Sūrya Siddhānta says, "The time from one rising of the sun to the next is called Sāvana or a terrestrial day, from this the number of terrestrial days in a kalpa is determined ; by these days the time of a sacrifice is calculated." The day is again divided in various ways. In some places it is divided into two parts, viz., pūrvāhṇa (forenoon) and aparāhṇa (afternoon); in some places in three parts, forenoon, mid-day (madhyāhna) and afternoon.[3] The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa says, "The forenoon, doubtless, belongs to the gods ; the mid-day to men, and the afternoon to the fathers."[4] The day is some times divided into four parts, forenoon, mid-day, afternoon and evening (sāyam) ; it is again divided into five parts,—dawn, saṃgaba (the time when the cows are driven together for milking), mid-day, afternoon and evening (sāyam).[5] The last kind of division of a day is into muhūrtas, a day is divided into fifteen muhūrtas and so also a night.[6] The day and night consists of thirty muhūrtas, a muhūrta=

1 Vide S. B. Dikshit's Bhāratīya Jyotiḥśāstra, pp. 138 f.

2 Sūrya Siddhānta, xiv, 12-14.

3 Tait. Br., iii, 12, 9, 1. 4 Śatapatha Br., ii, 4, 2, 8.

5 Ṛgveda v, 76, 3 ; Tait. Br., i, 5, 3 ; Śatapatha Br., ii, 2, 3. 9 ; Atharvaveda, ix, 6, 46.

6 Tait. Br., iii, 10, 9 ; Śatapatha Br., x, 4, 2, 8.

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about 48 minutes or $\frac{4}{5}$ of an hour. "One year = 360 × 30 = 10,800 muhūrtas, which is just the amount of eighties of which the three Vedas were to consist ; for Ṛgveda consists of 36 × 12,000 syllables, Yajus 36 × 8000 and Sāman 36 × 4000 syllables, the total is 2 × 432,000 = 80 + 10,800."[1] The fifteen divisions of a day into muhūrtas have got fifteen different names, so also the fifteen divisions of a night into muhūrtas ; again the divisions have got different names for days and nights of the Śukla and Kṛṣṇa pakṣas. The fifteen divisions of a day of the Śukla pakṣa were called citra, ketu, prabhān, ābhān, sambhān, jyotiṣmān, tejasvān, ātapan. tapan, abhitapan, rocana, rocamāna, śobhana, śobhamāna, and kalyāṇa ;[2] the fifteen divisions of a night of the Śukla pakṣa were called dātā, pradātā, ānanda, moda, pramoda, āveśayan, niveśayan, saṃveśana, saṃśānta, śānta, ābhavan, prabhavan, sambhavan, sambhūta and bhūta.[3] The fifteen divisions of a day of the Kṛṣṇa pakṣa were called savitā, prasavitā, dīptā, dīpayan, dīpyamāna, jvalan, jvalitā, tapan, vitapan, santapan, rocana, rocamāna, śumbhū, śumbhamāna and vāma ;[4] the fifteen divisions of a night of the Kṛṣṇa pakṣa were called abhiśāstā anumantā, ānanda, moda, pramoda, āsādayan, niṣādayan, saṃsādana, saṃsanna, sanna, ābhū, vibhū, prabhū, śambhū and bhuva.[5]

Again each muhūrta was subdivided into fifteen pratimuhūrtas.[6] These fifteen pratimuhūrtas had also different names ; they were idānīm, tadānīṃ, etarhi, kṣipram, ajiraṃ, āśu, nimeṣa, phaṇodravan, atidravan, tvaran, tvaramāṇa, āśīyān and java.[7] There were further divisions into kalā, kāṣṭha and Nimeṣa.[8] In the Mahābhārata the division of a day and a night into kāṣṭhā, kalā, muhūrta and lava is mentioned.[9] There were also other divisions, called nāḍikā (2 nāḍikās = 1 muhūrta), pala, māṣhka, droṇa, āḍhaka etc.[10] The Atharva Jyotiṣa gives the following table :—

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1 Śatapatha Br. x. 4. 2. 9.

2 Tait. Br., iii. 10. 1. 3 Tait. Br., iii. 10. 1. 1. 2.

4 Tait. Br., iii. 10. 1. 2. 5 Tait. Br., iii. 10. 1. 3.

6 Tait. Br., iii. 10. 9. 9. 7 Tait. Br., iii. 10. 1. 4.

8 Narāyaṇa Upaniṣad, Anukramaṇikā, verse 1.

9 Mahābhārata, Śāntiparva, Chap. 7, verse 21 ; Chap. 36 verse 14.

10 Yajur-veda Jyotiṣa, verses 16, 17 ; Bṛhat Saṃhitā, Chap. 23, verse 2, Vide also a table given in Līlāvatī.

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12 nimeṣa = 1 lava
30 lavas = 1 kalā
30 kalā = 1 truṭi
30 truṭi (or 15 pratimuhūrtas) = 1 muhūrta
30 muhūrtas = 1 day and night.

The above statement shows how much careful the Hindus were in dividing the periods into the minutest particles of time. Though most of them have now lost their former importance and are almost useless in practical work, yet it testifies to their utmost endeavour to be precise and correct to the nearest approximation.

Now we proceed to discuss an important question in connection with the calculation of time. When was the day reckoned to have its beginning? The Vedic and the Paurāṇic literature maintained that the day began with sun-rise.[1] But different theories on this question were advanced by the later Hindu astronomers. Varāhamihira says, "Āryabhaṭa maintains that the beginning of the day is to be reckoned from mid-night at Laṅkā, and the same teacher again says that the day begins from sunrise at Laṅkā."[2] But in the present text of the Āryabhaṭīya we find only the latter theory, namely, that the day begins from sun-rise.[3] The personal opinion of Varāhamihira is that the day begins from mid-day at Laṅkā. Brahmagupta holds the same view and says that mid-day at Laṅkā corresponds to sun-set in the city of the Yavanas. Lāṭācārya maintains that the day begins from sun-set in the city of the Yavanas, and, therefore, he belongs to the same school as Varāhamihira and Brahmagupta. Bhaṭṭotpala, the commentator of Brahmagupta, speaks of four kinds of day-beginnings, namely, from sun-rise, from mid-night, from mid-day and from sun-set. Siṃhācārya maintains that the day begins from sun-rise at Laṅkā; but his preceptor says that the day begins ten muhūrtas after the fall of night, i.e., $10 \times \frac{1}{15}$ or 8 hours after night-fall.[4] Varāhamihira discusses at a considerable length all these theories in his Pañcasiddhāntikā, chap. xv.

The division of the Calendar into a year, months, pakṣas and days evolved gradually but the system was almost complete in the

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1 There might have been a section at the time of the later Brāhmaṇas, who maintained that the day began with mid-day.

2 Pañcasiddhāntikā, (Thibaut and Dvivedi's edition) chap. xv, verse 20.

3 Āryabhaṭīya, Gītikāpāda, chap. x, verse 2.

4 Pañcasiddhāntikā, chap. xv, verse 20.

5 Ibid., verses 18, 19.

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Vedic and the Paurāṇic ages. Slight modifications were introduced later on by the Hindu astronomers and this modified calender has been since then in vogue in India. Only a few slokas have been devoted by Bhāskara in his Siddhānta Śiromaṇi for its explanation, some extracts of which are given below :[1]

"If a star and the Sun rise simultaneously (on any day), the star will rise again (on the following morning) in 60 sidereal ghaṭikās ; the sun, however, will rise later by the number of asus (sixths of a sidereal minute), found by dividing the product of the sun's daily motion (in minutes) and the asus which the sign, in which the sun is, takes in rising, by 1800 (the number of minutes which each sign of the ecliptic contains in itself). This time thus found added to the 60 sidereal ghaṭikās forms a true terrestrial day or natural day. The length of this day is variable, as it depends on the sun's daily motion and on the time (which different signs of the ecliptic take) in rising, (in different latitudes, both of which are variable elements).[2] A sidereal day consists invariably of 60 sidereal ghaṭikās ; a mean Sāvana day of the sun or terrestrial day consists of that time with an addition of the number of asus equal to the number of the sun's daily mean motion (in minutes).[3] - Thus the number of terrestrial days in a year is

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1 Siddhānta Śiromaṇi, Golādhyāya, chap. IV, v, 5-14.

2 "Had the sun been moving with uniform motion on the equinoctial, each minutes of which rises in each asu, the number of asus equal to the number of the minutes of the sun's daily motion, being added to the 60 sidereal ghaṭikās, would have invariably made the exact length of the true terrestrial day as Lalla and others say. But this is not the case, because the sun moves with unequal motion on account of its being oblique to the equinoctial. Therefore, to find the exact length of the true terrestrial day, it is necessary to determine the time which the minutes of the sun's daily motion take in rising and then add this time to 60 sidereal ghaṭikās. For this reason, the terrestrial day determined by Lalla in his Śiṣyadhīvṛddhida and also by some others is not a true but a mean day."—Footnotes by Bapudev Sastri on Golādhyāya chap. IV, verses 5, 6).

3 Compare Sūrya Siddhānta, chap. XIV, verse 15, which says, "The only invariable astronomical unit is the sidereal day, or the time of one apparent revolution of the sphere of the stars about the earth."

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less by one than the number of revolutions made by the fixed stars.

"The length of the solar year is 365 days, 15 ghaṭikās, 30 palas, 22½ vipalas reckoned in Bhūmi Sāvana or terrestrial days. The $\frac{1}{12}$th of this is called a Saura or solar month, viz. 30 days, 26 ghaṭikās, 17 palas, 31 vipalas, 52½ pravipalas. Thirty Sāvana or terrestrial days make a Sāvana month.[1] The time in which the moon after being in conjunction with the sun, completing a revolution with the difference between the daily motion and that of the sun again overtakes the sun, which moves at a slower rate, is called a lunar month. It is 29 days, 31 ghaṭikās, 50 palas in length.

"An adhimāsa or additive month which is lunar, occurs in the duration of 32½ Saura or solar months found by dividing the lunar month by the difference between this and the Saura month. As a mean lunar month is shorter in length than a mean Saura month, the lunar months are, therefore, more in number than the Saura in a Kalpa. An avama or subtractive day which is Sāvana occurs in $62\frac{1}{11}$ tithis (lunar days) found by dividing 30 by the difference between the lunar and Sāvana month."[2]

We shall close our discussions by a reference to the Jaina calendar which differs in some respects from the Vedic and Pauraṇic calendar. The only work on Jaina astronomy now available is the Sūryaprajñapti written by Mahāvīra, It is written in Prakrit, but its commentary by Malayagiri is written in classical sanskrit. The probable date of the Sūryaprajñapti synchronises with that of the Jyotiṣa Vedāṅga. The following will clearly explain the formation of the calendar in the Sūryaprajñapti :—

The moon moves and unites 67 times with Abhijit in a Yuga of 5 years. The sun comes in contact five times with the same star in a Yuga.

The names of the months are :—

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1 Here a solar year consists of 365 days, 15 ghaṭikās, 30 palas 22½ vipalas, i.e., 365 days. 6h. 12m. 9s. But in the Sūrya Siddhānta, the length of the year is 365 days, 15 ghaṭikās, 31 palas, 31·4 vipalas, i.e., 365 days, 6 h. 12m. 36·56 s.

2 For further explanation of these verses see the footnotes by Bapudev Sastri on Siddhāntaśiromaṇi, Golādhyāya, chap. iv, verses 10-12.

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1.	Śrāvaṇa	...	...	...	Abhinanda
2.	Bhādrapada	...	...	...	Supratiṣṭha
3.	Āśvayuja	...	...	...	Vijaya
4.	Kārtika	...	...	...	Prītivardhana
5.	Mārgaśīrṣa	...	...	...	Śreyān
6.	Pauṣya	...	...	...	Śiva
7.	Māgha	...	...	...	Śiśira
8.	Phālguna	...	...	...	Haimavān
9.	Caitra	...	...	...	Vasanta
10.	Vaiśākha	...	...	...	Kusumasambhava
11.	Jyaiṣṭha	...	...	...	Nidāgha
12.	Āṣāḍha	...	...	...	Vanavirodhi

Years :—(1) Nakṣatra-saṃvatsara = 12 Nakṣatra-māsas = $12 \times 27\frac{3}{67}$ days = 327 days + $\frac{6}{67}$ days

(2) Yuga-saṃvatsara (cyclic year) = 5 years

(3) Pramāṇa-saṃvatsara. (4) Saturn-year.

The first is of 12 kinds, as Śrāvaṇa, Bhādrapada, etc.; when Jupiter completes the whole circle of constellations once, it is called, a Nakṣatra-saṃvatsara of 12 years.

Lunar year = $29\frac{3}{67} \times 12 = 354$ days + $\frac{12}{67}$ days

Intercalary Lunar year = $383 + \frac{4}{67}$ days

Saura or solar year = $12 \times 30\frac{1}{2} = 366$ days

Thus, once in 30 solar months there will be one intercalary lunar month. Hence in a Yuga of 60 solar months there will be two intercalary lunar months. Each lunar month contains two parvas. Therefore, a lunar year contains 24 parvas, and an intercalary year 26 parvas.

The Pramāṇa-saṃvatsara is of five kinds : Nakṣatra (sidereal), Ṛtu (seasonal), Cāndra (lunar), Āditya (solar) and intercalary lunar. The sidereal and lunar years have been just explained. The Ṛtu and Āditya-saṃvatsaras will now be explained :

2 Ghaṭikās = 1 Muhūrta	15 Days = 1 Pakṣa
30 Muhūrtas = 1 Day and Night	2 Pakṣas = 1 Month
	12 Months = 1 Year

The year of 360 days and nights is a Ṛtu-saṃvatsara. This has two more names, Karma-saṃvatsara and Sāvana-saṃvatsara ; Karma = work (laukikavyavahāra). Hence that year which is prominently observed by workmen is so called. Karma month has no fraction and facilitates work and worldly transaction ; the rest have fractions and so in usage it is difficult to understand. Sāvana means engagement in work. Hence that year which is chiefly agreeable to work is Sāvana

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year. The year of 360 days is called Karma and also Sāvana year. Similarly, the solar year is the time taken by the rainy and other seasons for completion of one revolution. It is, however, usual to assign 60 days to each of the seasons. Still each one of them has 61 days. Hence the solar year contains 366 days. In a yuga there are three ordinary lunar years of $354\frac{12}{62}$ days and two intercalary years of $383\frac{10}{62}$ days. Hence in a yuga there are 62 lunar months, 67 Nakṣatra months. The lunar year and also the solar year commence at the same point or day and close at the same point or day once in every cycle of 30 years which is equal to 6 cycles of 5 years each. For the lunar year gains 6×2 months and thus completes one whole intercalary year. Similarly, the solar, the Sāvana or seasonal, the lunar, and the Nakṣatra years begin on the same day and close on the same day or simultaneously begin and close once in 12 cycles of 5 years each, i.e., 60 years. In a similar way the intercalary lunar year, the solar, the Ṛtu or Sāvana, the lunar and the Nakṣatra years will simultaneously begin and close once in a great cycle of 156 cycles of 5 years each ; for 156×5 years are equal to 744 intercalary years, 780 solar, 793 Ṛtu, 806 lunar and 871 Nakṣatra years.

Next the measure of solar and other months is given : (a) A solar year is equal to 366 days, hence one solar month is $\frac{366}{12} = 30\frac{1}{2}$ days ; (b) a Karma-saṃvatsara $= 360$ days ; hence one Karma-month $= \frac{360}{12} = 30$ days ; (c) a lunar year $= 354\frac{12}{62}$ days, hence one lunar month $= \frac{354\frac{12}{62}}{12} - 29\frac{32}{62}$ days ; (d) a Nakṣatra year $= 327\frac{51}{67}$ days, hence one Nakṣatra-month $= \frac{327\frac{51}{67}}{12} = 27\frac{31}{67}$ days ; (e) an intercalary lunar year $= 383\frac{44}{61}$ days, hence one intercalary month $= \frac{383\frac{44}{61}}{12} = 31\frac{121}{124}$ days.

In a yuga or cycle of 5 years or 1830 days, there are 60 solar months, or 61 Sāvana months, or 62 lunar months or 67 Nakṣatra-months or 57 intercalary months, 7 days, $11\frac{23}{62}$ muhūrtas.[1]

Again one lunar month is divided into two parts, the white half contains $442\frac{46}{62}$ muhūrtas and the dark half also $442\frac{46}{62}$ muhūrtas. A tithi or lunar day is equal to $\frac{61}{62}$ parts of a day. Hence a day being divided into 30 muhūrtas, a tithi will be equal to $\frac{61}{62} \times 30$ muhūrtas $= 29\frac{32}{62}$ muhūrtas. The tithis are of two kinds : (1) day tithis and

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1 For an intercalary month $= 31\frac{121}{124}$ days. Hence $\frac{1830}{31\frac{121}{124}} = \frac{2270}{961} = 57$ months, 7 days and $11\frac{23}{62}$ muhūrtas.

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night tithis ; both kinds are divided into a week of five lunar days, called (a) Nanda, (b) Bhadra, (c) Jaya, (d) Tuccha, (e) Pūrṇa, in the case of day tithis ; and (a) Ugravatī, (b) Bhogavatī, (c) Yaśomatī, (d) Sarvasiddhā and (e) Śubhanāmnī, in the case of night tithis. Thus three weeks of day tithis and three weeks of night tithis will make fifteen complete lunar days. The above is a short summary of the division of time mentioned in Mahāvīra's Sūrya-prajñāpti.

This finishes a general discussion about the formation of the Hindu Calendar. The Hindus from very early times tried to get a detailed calculation of the year, month, pakṣas, day and the sub-divisions of a day. The calendar was in most respects perfected in the Vedic and the Paurāṇic age, though some modifications were introduced by the later Hindu astronomers.

SUKUMAR RANJAN DAS

Old Brāhmī Inscriptions in Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri Caves: Language and Style

[The old Brāhmī inscriptions dealt with in this paper include (1) the Hāthi-Gumphā inscription of Khāravela to be referred to as No. I, (2) the Vaikuṇṭhapura Cave inscription of Khāravela's chief queen to be referred to as No. II, (3) the Pātālapura Cave inscription of king Kadampa-Kudepa to be referred to as No. III, (4) the Yamapura Cave inscription of Prince Vaḍukha-Varikha to be referred to as No. IV, (5) the Choṭa-Hāthigumphā inscription of Prince Vaḍukha-Varikha (?) to be referred to as No. V, (6) the Sarpa-gumphā inscription of Cūlakamma to be referred to as No. VI, (7) the Pāvana or Haridās-Gumphā of Cūlakamma to be referred to as No. VII, (8) the Sarpagumphā-side Cave inscription of Kamma and Khīṇā to be referred to as No. VIII, (9) the Vyāghra-Gumphā inscription of the Town-judge Bhūti to be referred to as No. IX, (10) the Jambeśvara or Frog Cave inscription of the High-functionary Nākiya to be referred to as No. X, (11 & 12) two Ananta-Gumphā inscriptions of some donors to be referred to as Nos. XI and XII, (13) the inscription of some donor in the Tattva-Gumphā No. I to be

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referred to as No. XIII, and (14) the inscription of Pādamūlikakusuma to be referred to as No. XIV. For previous readings of these inscriptions, the reader is referred to the text of No. I and corrections published by K. P. Jayaswal in JBORS., 1917, 1918, 1927 and 1928, and to the texts of the remaining epigraphs published by Mr. R. D Banerji in EI, Vol. XIII. The quotations in this paper are all from the texts prepared by us for a critical edition of the old Brāhmī inscriptions in the Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri Caves, which is now in the press.]

1. *Language*

Judged by the sound-system and syntax, the language of the old Brāhmī inscriptions is very nearly Pāli, the language of the Buddhist Tipiṭaka preserved in Ceylon, Siam and Burma. Leaving the spelling and pronunciation of a few words out of consideration, we can say that their language is Pāli, and nothing but Pāli. The exceptional cases of spelling and pronunciation are important as enabling the reader to detect the under-current of a dialect having affinity, in respect of its phonetics, with Ardha-Māgadhī, the language of the extant Jaina Āgaṃa.

Broadly speaking, the differences between the language of the old Brāhmī inscriptions and Ardha-Māgadhī are the differences which exist between Pāli and the Jaina Prakrit, and have been specified by Prof. Jacobi.[1] For example, in the Jaina Prākrit, in final syllables, as well as in the middle of words, *o* is frequently represented by *e*, while in the language of the old Brāhmī inscriptions and in Pāli, *o* is nowhere represented by *e*. At the same time, the language of the old Brāhmī inscriptions shows a complete agreement with both Pāli and Ardha-Māgadhī in its tendency not to replace the Sanskrit *r*-sound by the *l*-sound.

The language of the old Brāhmī inscriptions differs from Ardha-Māgadhī and agrees with Pāli also in its main tendency not to indiscriminately cerebralize the dental nasal.

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1 Preface to the Āyāraṃga-Sutta, edited by H. Jacobi, Part I, Text, pp. vii-xiv. Read also P. V. Bapat's interesting paper "The Relation between Pāli and Ardha-Māgadhī."—Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. iv, No. 1.

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Now let us examine the exceptional cases of spelling and pronunciation and see what results we obtain and how we can account for them. Let us, first of all, examine the invocation formula as it occurs in Khāravela's inscription. This was obviously a rendering from a current Jaina formula, which probably survives in the later full-fledged formula : *Ṇamo arihaṃtāṇaṃ, ṇamo siḍhāṇaṃ*, etc. In the inscriptional formula, the cerebral nasals are replaced by the dental, but the spelling *arihaṃta* is yet retained, while the commoner spelling, as evidenced by the inscriptions of Khāravela and Khāravela's chief queen, is *arahaṃta*. Both of these two spellings are met with in Ardha-Māgadhī, the spelling *arihaṃta* being met with more frequently than *arahaṃta*, while only one spelling, *arahanta*, is met with in Pāli. We also notice that, in the second clause, the cerebral sonant aspirate *ḍha* has been replaced by the dental *dha*, and we have, for the Sk. *sarva*, *sava* (= *savva*), precisely as in Ardha-Māgadhī, instead of *saba* (= *sabba*) as in Pāli.[1]

The language of the old Brāhmī inscriptions shows an agreement with Ardha-Māgadhī in its tendency to retain the Sk. *ḍ*-sound instead of substituting for it the Vedic cerebral sound *ḷ* as in Pāli : *kaḍāra* (I. 1) = Ardha-Māgadhī *kaḍāra* = Sk. *kaḍāra* = Pāli *kaḷāra* ; *kīḍikā*, *kīḍitā* (I. 1) = Ardha-Māgadhī *kīḍiyā*, *kīḍḍā* *kīḍiyā* Sk. *krīḍā*, *krīḍitā* = Pāli *kīḷikā*, *kīḷitā* ; *kīḍāpayati* (1.4) = Ardha-Māgadhī *kīḍāvayai* = Sk. *krīḍayati* = Pāli *kīḷāpayati* ; *pīḍāpayati* (I.9) = Ardha-Māgadhī *pīḍāvayai* = Sk. *pīḍayati* = Pāli *pīḷāpayali* ; *taḍāga* (I. 2) = Ardha-Māgadhī *taḍāga* = Sk. *taḍāga* = Pāli *taḷāka* ; *veḍuriya* (1. 10, 1. 15) = Ardha-Māgadhī *veḍuriya* = Sk. *vaidūrya* = Pāli *veḷuriya*.

Further, as to the exceptional cases of spelling and pronunciation, the language of the old Brāhmī inscriptions differs from Pāli and agrees with Ardha-Māgadhī in its greater tendency to replace the surd by the sonant of a consonantal group : *taḍāga* (1.2) = Pāli *taḷāka* = Ardha-Māgadhī *taḍāga* ; *padhame* (1.2) = Pāli *paṭhame*, *pathame* = Ardha-Māgadhī *paḍhame* ; °*padha* (1. 13) = Pāli °*patha* = Ardha-Māgadhī °*paha* (a change from °*padha*) ; *radha*, *Goradha* (1. 3, 1. 8, 1. 9) = Pāli °*radha*, *Goratha* = Ardha-Māgadhī *raha*, *Goraha* (changes from *radha*, *Goradha*) ; *Pīthuḍaga* (I. 12) = Pāli *Puthudaka* = Ardha-Māgadhī *Pihuḍaga*, *Pihudaga* ; *saṃghāta* (1. 12) = Pāli *saṃkhāta*, *saṃkhyāta* = Ardha-

1 Cf. also *puva* (1. 5, 1. 12) = Ardha-Māgadhī *puva* = Pāli *pubba* ; *savata* (1. 8) = Ardha-Māgadhī *savvattha* = Pāli *sabbattha* ; *yovana* (1. 1) = Ardha-Māgadhī *yovvaṇa* = Pāli *yobbana*.

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Māgadhī *saṃkhāta*[1] ; *Madhuraṃ* (1. 9) = Pāli *Madhuraṃ* = Sk. *Mathurām* = Ardha-Māgadhī *Mahuraṃ* (a change from *Madhuraṃ*).

The language under discussion differs from Pāli and agrees with Ardha-Māgadhī also in its tendency to form a gerund by adding *tā* (= Ardha-Māgadhi *ttā*) instead of *tvā* to the verb ; *acitayitā* (1. 3) = Ardha-Māgadhī *aciṃtayittā* = Pāli *acintayitvā* ; *ghātāpayitā* (1. 9) = Ardha-Māgadhī *ghātāvayittā* = Pāli *ghātāpayitvā* ; in its tendency to change *p* into *v* in the middle of a word : *kara-vaṇa-anugaha* (1. 7) = Pāli *kara-paṇa-anugaha* ; in its tendency to frequently use *pana* (= Ardha-Māgadhī *paṇṇa*, Pāli *panna*, *paṇṇa*, *pañña*) for *pañca* : *panatīsāhi* (1. 2) = Pāli *pañcatiṃsāhi* ; *panatariya* (1. 15) = Pāli *pañca-sattati* ; in its tendency to represent the *r* of a conjoint consonant by *ṃ* : *daṃpa* (1. 4) = Pāli *dappa* = Sk. *darpa*[2] ; *saṃdaṃsayaṃto* (1. 7) = Pāli *saṃdassayaṃto* = Sk. *sandarśayan* ; *akhadaṃsa* (IX) = Pāli *akkhadassa* = Sk. *akṣadarśa*[3] ; in its tendency to dispense with *t*-sound in the middle of a word ; *cavuthe* (1. 5) = Ardha-Māgdhī *cautthe* = Pāli *catutthe* ; and in its tendency to represent *kh* by *h* : *siharāni* (1. 13) = Ardha-Māgadhī *siharāṇi* = Pāli *sikharāni*.

If the reading *dhut*[*u*]*nā* be correct, we find in it another point of agreement between the language of the old Brāhmī inscriptions and Ardha-Māgadhī : *dhutunā* (II) = Ardha-Māgadhī *dhutuṇā* = Pāli *dhītunā*.

In *pāḍiyo* (1. 2) = Sk. *pāṭīḥ* = Pāli and Ardha-Māgadhī *pāliyo*, one has an exceptional instance, where *l* is represented by *ḍ* = Pāli *ḷ*. In *veḍuriya* (1. 10, 1. 15) = Sk. *vaidūrya*, one has a case, in which *ḍ* is represented by *ḍ* = *ḷ*. In *vaṇa* (1. 7) = Sk. *paṇa* and in *dapa* (if it is a correct reading) = Sk. *drava*, we have a case, in which *p* and *v* are interchanged. In *palikhāni* (1. 13) = Sk. *parighān* and in *saṃghātaṃ* (1. 12) = Sk. *saṃkhyātam*, one has a case, in which *kh* and *gh* are interchanged. In *leṇaṃ* = Sk. *layanam*, one has a case, in which the dental nasal is represented by the cerebral. In *Madhuraṃ* (1. 9) = Sk. *Mathurām*, one has a case, in which *th* is represented by *dh*. But these are exceptions which are met with equally in Pāli.

Regarding the use of two spellings of *pāli* as *pāli* and *pāḷi*, of *Lāḷa* as *Lāla* and *Lāḷa*, and of *lena* as *lena* and *leṇa* in Pāli, Dr. E. Müller's

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1 Here *saṃghāta* may be equated also with Sk. and Pāli *saṃghāta*.

2 If *dapa* be the correct reading, the word must be equated with Pāli and Ardha-Māgadhī *dava*, and Sk. *drava*.

3 The only exception in Pāli is *lomahaṃsa* = *lomaharṣa*.

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observations are worth quoting: "It is very difficult to give exact rules for the use of *ḷ* as the manuscripts are even less consistent in this respect than with regard to the dental and cerebral *n*."[1]

As regards *palikhāni* = Sk. *parighān*, the usual Pāli spelling is *palighāni* or *paḷighāni*. The *palikha* spelling occurs in one of the Jātaka verses (Fausböll's Jātaka, Vol. VI, p. 276):

Esikā parikhāyo ca palikhaṃ aggalāni ca.

The commentator suggests *paligha* as an alternative reading: *palikhan ti paligha*ṃ, *ayam eva vā pāṭho.* "Here *palikha* means *paligha*. This *paligha* may also be the intended reading."

As for *saṃghāta* = Sk. *saṃkhyāta*, we find a parallel instance in Pāli Maghādeva (Culla-Niddesa, p. 80) = *Makhādeva*, although here both the forms may be regarded as phonetic changes from *Mahādeva*, which is the usual Pāli spelling.

No hypothesis regarding the character of the language should be built on the basis of the readings *etinaṃ* (I. 9) and *saṃkārakārako* (I. 16). For it seems that *etinaṃ* is but the engraver's mistake[2] for *etisānaṃ* = Pāli *etesānaṃ*, and *saṃkāra* for *saṃkhāra*, cf. *paṭisaṃkhārayati* (I. 2).

One need not be surprised if the intended reading in Khāravela's inscription (I. 9) was *bramhaṇānaṃ* or *brahmaṇānaṃ*, which is the same in pronunciation as the Pāli *brāhmaṇānaṃ*. So far as the present inscribed surface of the rock goes, one has to read *bamhaṇānaṃ* or *bahmaṇānaṃ*.

Apart from the question of chronology, the following Brāhmī inscriptions may be so arranged as to indicate a march of the official language of ancient India from a stage of old Māgadhī towards Sanskrit through a Pāli stage reached in the language of Ānanda's Sānchi Gateway inscription of Śātakarṇi's time and in that of the old Brāhmī inscriptions.

I. Piprahwa Vase Inscription—

Iyaṃ salila-nidhane Budhasa Bhagavate Sakiyanaṃ sukiti-bhatinaṃ sabhaginikanaṃ saputadalanaṃ.

II. Aśoka's Rummindei Pillar Inscription—

Devānaṃpiyena Piyadasina lājina vīsativasābhisitena atana āgāca...silāvigaḍabhīcā kālāpita silāthabhe ca usapāpite.

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1 E. Müller's Pali Grammar, p. 27.

2 *Etinaṃ* may be a genuine genitive plural form from *etisa*.

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III. Yaśamatā's Brick-tablet Inscription[1]—

Jivaputāye rājabharyāye Bṛhāsvātimitadhitu-Yaśamatāye kāritaṃ.

IV. Gotamīmitrā's Pillar Inscription[2]—

...mitrasa-putrasa-raño-Visṇumitrasadhitu- Īdragibhadāye dhātiye Gotamiye Mitrāye dānaṃ thambho.

V. Dhanabhūti's Barhut E. Gateway Inscription—

Snganaṃ raje raño Gāgīputasa Visadevasa pauteṇa Gotiputasa Āgarajusa puteṇa Vāchiputena Dhanabhūtina kāritaṃ toraṇāṃ silākammaṃto ca upaṃṇa.

VI. Ānanda's Sanchi Gateway Inscription—

Rāño siri-Sātakaṇisa āvesaṇisa Vāsiṭhiputasa Ānaṃdasa dānaṃ.

VII. Khāravela's Chief-queen's Inscription—

Arahaṃta-pasādānaṃ Kāliṃgānaṃ leṇaṃ kāritaṃ—rājino taṃ—rājino Lālākasa Hathisā(ā)hasaṃpanātasa dhutunā Kaliṃga-cakavatino siri-Khāravelasa agamahisinū kāritaṃ.

VIII. Āṣāḍhasena's Pabhosa Inscription, No. II—

Adhichatrāyā rāño Śonakāyanaputrasa Vaṃsapālasa putrasya raño Tevaṇīputrasya Bhāgavatasya putreṇa Vaihidarīputreṇa Āṣāḍhasenena kāritaṃ.

IX. Śunga Inscription in Ayodhyā[3]—

Kosalādhipena dviraśvamedhayājinaḥ Senāpateḥ Puṣyamitrasya ṣaṣṭhena Kauśikīputreṇa Dhana...dharmarājñaḥ[4] pituḥ Phalgudevasya ketanaṃ kāritaṃ.

We maintain that, from the point of view of antiquity of the Pāli language, the foregoing setting of the Brāhmī inscriptions is of little importance. For going back to earlier times, we find that, upon the

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1 JRAS., 1912, the inscription edited by J. Ph. Vogel.

2 IHQ., Vol. II, No. 3, p. 442, the inscription edited by N. C. Majumdar.

3 JBORS., Vol. XIII, Parts III-IV, p. 247, the inscription edited by K. P. Jayaswal.

4 Jayaswal reads *dharmarājñī.*

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whole, the sound system and grammatical forms of the language of the Girnar version of Aśoka's Rock Edicts are strikingly similar to those of Pāli. It appears that, for the adaptation of wordings of Aśoka's edicts to the dialects, arrangements were made in Aśoka's Imperial Secretariat to have the drafts prepared by the drafters who were supposed to have been conversant with the local dialects of different centres, for which the edicts were intended. In theory, the Girnar copies of the fourteen rock edicts were meant to be drafted by the drafter familiar with the local dialect of Girnar. But in practice, in some instances, the drafters by a mutual arrangement worked for one another, or for some reasons or other, the scribe employed to prepare drafts for one place was called upon to do the work for another place, and, in some instances, the draft prepared for one place was despatched by mistake to another place. For example, by the sameness of opening words, *Devānaṃpiyasa vacanena*, we may ascertain that the Dhauli copies of Aśoka's Separate Rock Edicts and the copy of Queen's Edict were drafted by one and the same drafter. We think there is no better way than this of explaining the irregularities of spellings and grammatical forms in the Girnar copies of Aśoka's fourteen Rock Edicts.

Among distinctive characteristics of the sound system, we notice that the Girnar language invariably retains the *st*-sound instead of assimilating it into *th* (=*tth*) and the *ṣṭ*-sound instead of assimilating it into *ṭh* (=*ṭṭh*): *asti*, *nāsti*, *saṃstuta*, *ṣṭita*, *tiṣṭaṃti*, *anusaṣṭi*, *niṣṭānāya*; invariably retains the *r*-sound in the word *sarvata* or *sarvatra* and optionally in the word *purva*, while in *sava*, *rv* is assimilated into *v* (=*vv*); and shows a greater tendency to optionally retain the *ra*-stop: *prāṇā*, *priya*, *sarvatra*, *brāmhaṇa*, *sramaṇa*, *parākrama*. The last characteristic has its vestiges in such Pāli words as *yatra*, *tatra*, *atra*, *aññatra*, *amutra*, *bhadra*, *brāhmaṇa*. In Pāli, we have *sm* and *mh* as two alternative forms, while in the Girnar language, we have the use of only one form, namely, *mh*: *vijitamhi*, *apakaraṇamhi*. The retention of the *ya*-stop is another point of agreement between the two languages; Girnar—*katavya*, *vyaṃjanato*, *divyāni*; Pāli—*Sākya*, *vyaṃjanato*, *saṃkhyāta*.

This may suffice to convince the reader of the fact that the Pāli language was modelled on a western form of the Indian Prakritic dialect as typified by the language of the Girnar version of Aśoka's Rock Edicts. And if the language of our old Brāhmī inscriptions is found to be very nearly Pāli, we cannot, for that reason, be justified

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in thinking either that it was representative of a dialect, which was prevalent in the kingdom of Kaliṅga, or that the Pāli language was based upon the Kaliṅga dialect presupposed by it.[1] Apart from other arguments advanced by other scholars against Prof. Oldenberg's view,[2] we find that, unlike Aśoka's edicts, our old Brāhmī inscriptions bear no proof of adaption to local dialects. In many essential points, the language of our old Brāhmī inscriptions bears likeness to that of the Girnar version of Aśoka's Rock Edicts. We can account for this likeness without resorting to Prof. Oldenberg's hypothesis. The likeness might be simply due to the fact that our old Brāhmī inscriptions were drafted by a Jain recluse who came to live in the Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri caves from Gujarat, or that the Jain recluse who composed our old Brāhmī inscriptions was won over from the Buddhist faith. To render an adequate explanation for the Pāli diction as well as for the exceptional cases of spelling and pronunciation, we see no better way than to presume that the old Brāhmī inscriptions, as we now have them, were a rendering in a kind of Girnar language or of Pāli from an original draft prepared by a Jain recluse in an eastern dialect presupposed by Ardha-Māgadhī or Jain Prākrit, and that this rendering was done by another Jain recluse in the course of rewriting it, the Jain recluse who was either born and brought up in the Girnar region or won over from the Buddhist faith, having an opportunity of being conversant with a dialect similar to the Girnar language or with Pāli itself.

Whether or no the spoken dialect of the people of Kaliṅga was originally a Dravidian form of speech is a disputed question. But it seems certain that the language of our old Brāhmī inscriptions was not the spoken dialect of the people of Kaliṅga. The Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri caves where these inscriptions were engraved are situated in the heart of the Puri District of Orissa. The spoken dialect of the inhabitants of this District is now known as Oḍiyā. The spoken dialect of the people of Utkalavarṣa, the country of Utkala, was known to the outsiders, say, to the cultured people in Magadha, as an unintelligible and uncouth jargon as might be inferred

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1 Vinaya-Piṭaka edited by Oldenberg, vol. I, Introduction, p. liv.

2 Nalinaksha Dutt's Early History of the Spread of Buddhism and the Buddhist Schools, pp. 262-4; Sunitikumar Chatterji's The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language, vol. I, pp. 56ff.

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from the expression *Ukkala-vassa-bhaññā* which has been used as a term of contempt in one of the passages of the Pāli Tripiṭaka.[1] Buddhaghoṣa, the Pāli commentator has altogether missed the significance of this expression. He takes it to mean "two men of Utkala, Vassa and Bhañña by name."[2] This meaning is out of the question in the Pāli passage, where, while speaking of the philosophers' propounding views contrary to his own, the Buddha has referred to them as *Ukkala-vassa-bhaññā*, that is, as persons speaking in terms of the unintelligible and uncouth jargon of the country of Utkala.

The language of our old Brāhmī inscriptions is a conventional language, which tended to remain clear of Māgadhisms, the elements of eastern dialects.[3] Prof. S. K. Chatterji rightly observes."[4] "The Aryan language...came in the wake of the North Indian religions Brahmanism, Buddhism and Jainism, and was used by royal patrons of these religions among Dravidians and other Non-Aryans, merely as a sort of religious language in documents of a religions, and often of an administrative character."

We have sought to maintain that the Pāli language, too, remained clear of Māgadhisms. It is most astonishing that Prof. Bapat freely admits *attakāre, parakāre, sukhe, dukkhe, jīva-sattame,* and the like to be the genuine Pāli forms,[5] forgetting that these Ardha-Māgadhisms are clearly associated in the earliest Pāli texts, notably the Sāmaññaphalasutta of the Dīgha Nikāya, vol. I, with the doctrines of such recluse teachers as Pūraṇa-Kassapa, Pakudha-Kaccāyana and Makkhali-Gosāla, and that, as such, these are meant to have been put within

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1 Aṅguttara-Nikāya, part II, p. 31.

2 Manoratha-Pūraṇī, Siamese edition, part II, p. 377 : *Ukkalāti Ukkala-janapadavāsino. Vassa-Bhaññāti Vasso ca Bhañño ca dve janā.*

3 The word *palikhāni* which occurs in Khāravela's inscription as an equivalent of the Pāli *palikhāni* or *palighāni* and the Sk. *parighān* might be cited as an exception. But the alternative Pāli spelling of *paligha* as *paḷigha*, met within the Vāseṭṭha-Sutta, Sutta-Nipāta, indicates that the case is not that of replacement of the *ra*-sound by the *la*-sound but that of an inter-consonantal change effected through *ḷa* or *ḍa*.

4 The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language, vol. I. p. 63.

5 Indian Historical Quarterly, vol. IV, no. 1, p. 23.

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inverted commas as a means of being kept distinct from the Pāli forms, *attakāro, parakāro, sukhaṃ dukkhaṃ*, and *jīva-sattamo.*[1]

It is interesting to observe how scholars after scholars have erred on the wrong side in subsuming that all that is in Pāli is Pāli. The spelling of *Ṛṣigiri* as *Isigili*, met with in the title and body of the Pāli Isigili-sutta of the Majjhima-Nikāya, is cited by Prof. Lüders as a notable instance of lingering old Māgadhism in Pāli, and no less as an evidence in support of his theory about the rendering in the existing Pāli canon of old Māgadhī texts in a western dialect. But what can be more misleading than this? As we have sought to show elsewhere,[2] the usual Pāli name of the hill would have been *Isigiri*, and the *Isigili* form had to be adopted for a very special reason, meaning it to be put within inverted commas. The reason for adoption or retention of the spelling *Isigili* has been stated in the Sutta itself :—

"Bhutapubbaṃ, bhikkhave, pañca-Pacceka-buddha-satāni imasmiṃ Isigilismiṃ pabbate cirani vāsino ahesuṃ. Te imaṃ pabbataṃ pavisantā dissanti, paviṭṭhā na dissanti. Taṃ enaṃ manussā disvā evaṃ āhaṃsu : 'Ayaṃ pabbato ime isī gilatīti Isigili,' Isigili tveva samaññā udapādi."[3]

"Formerly, O Bhikkhus, some five hundred Egotistic Buddhas (hermit teachers) came to live for ever (*i.e.*, to cast off their bodies) in (the dark caverns of) this Isigili mountain. They could be seen entering (the caverns of) this mountain, and once they entered into the mountain, they could no longer be seen. Observing this strange happening, the people said : 'This mountain swallows these sages,' and hence arose the name of the hill—*Isigili*, 'the swallower of sages."

The explanation offerd by the Buddha enables us to understand that the real name of the mountain which was *Ṛṣigiri* or *Isigiri*, "the Mountain Abode of the Hermits," was locally pronounced as *Isigili*, and acquired a new association of ideas in the fanciful etymological derivation *"Isigilatīti Isigili,"* "the hermit-swallower because it swallows the hermits," and that this new association could not be embodied without

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1 *See* Barua's paper—The Ājivikas, in the Calcutta University Journal in the Department of Letters, vol II, pp. 46-51.

2 Barua's paper—Jinalogy and Buddhalogy, Calcutta Review, Oct., 1921, p. 60.

3 Majjhima-Nikāya, vol. III, part I, p. 68.

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coining such a lengthier name in Pāli as *Isigili-giri*=*Ṛṣigili-giri* "the Hermit-swallower-mountain."

As we have seen, the substitution of the Dental sonant aspirate for the Dental surd aspirate in such words as *padha*, *radha*, *Goradha*, *padhama*, and *Madhurā* is a characteristic of the dialect presupposed by the language of our old Brāhmī inscriptions, that is to say, of the language of the supposed first draft. Among the later Prakrit dialect, the Śaurasenī, the vernacular of the people of Śūrasena or Mathurā region, has alone been characterised by this kind of phonetic change in Vararuci's Prākṛta-prakāśa, in the aphorism (XII. 3):

Anādivayujostathayodardhau

"The Dental consonant *ta* and *tha* which are not the initials of any words and are not conjoined with other consonants change respectively into *da* and *dha*."

One need not be astonished if the first draft of Khāravela's inscription was prepared in the dialect of the Mathurā region by a Jaina recluse who was familiar with it. The two inscriptions discovered and published by Mr. Jackson in the Barābar Hills offer us an instance of the substitution of *dha* for *tha*.[1] In the earlier inscription, the letter-forms of which are similar to those of Aśokan inscriptions, the name of the particular hill to which it is attached is recorded as *Goradhagiri*, while in the later inscription, the letter-forms of which are strikingly similar to those of Khāravela's inscription, the name of the same hill has been recorded as *Gorathagiri*.[2]

Mr. R. D. Banerji offers this explanation for the use of the spelling *Goradhagiri* in the second inscription; "The substitution of *dha* for *tha* shows that the second record was incised by an inhabitant of Southern India. It is quite possible that this record was incised by an inhabitant of Kaliṅga, probably one of the men who had accompanied Khāravela in his first campaign against the king of Magadha."[3]

We find it difficult to agree with Mr. Banerji in thinking this kind of substitution was a peculiarity of the spoken dialect of the people of Kaliṅga in view of the fact that in none of Aśoka's inscriptions in Kaliṅga we notice it. If it be true that the second record was actually

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1 JBORS., vol. I, part II, pp. 159-71.

2 The point is ably discussed by R. D. Banerji in JBORS., vol. III, part IV, p. 500.

3 JBORS., vol. III, part IV, pp. 500-501.

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incised by one of the men who had accompanied king Khāravela in his campaign against the people of Rājagaha, the fact may be explained differently. The author of the record might be a man who was brought up in Mathurā or the Mathurā region. Our explanation is more plausible on the ground that, according to the Hāthi-Gumphā record, Mathurā was used by king Khāravela as the military base in his campaign against the kings of Uttarāpatha.[1]

We may, on another ground, maintain that the presupposition of the language of the supposed first draft of Khāravela's inscription was not the spoken dialect of the people of Kaliṅga. In Khāravela's inscription, we have *cavuthe* (l. 5) for the Pāli *catutthe*. We find that *cāvudasa* occurs in all the versions of Aśoka's Pillar Edict V as a common spelling for *cātuddasa*. The dialects of all the versions of Aśoka's Pillar Edicts point, beyond any doubt, to the existence of a widely prevalent *lingua franca*, or language of the cultured laity as Prof. Rhys Davids would like to call it, in the third century B.C., in the Middle Country extending as far, say, as Kauśāmbī and Mathurā. It is apparent that the dialects of those Pillar Edicts are full of Māgadhisms. And if we go by the verdict of Vararuci, the predominant tendency of the Māgadhī dialects was Śaurasenī,[2] that is to say, of the dialect of the people of Mathurā.

Thus we are led to assume that the Udayagiri-Khaṇḍagiri caves in Orissa, Mathurā and Ujjeni-Girinagara were the three important centres of Jainism during the reign of Khāravela, and that the language of Khāravela's inscription was, so far as its grammatical forms go, the same as the dialect of the Girnar version of Aśoka's Rock Edicts, and, so far as its sound system goes, a compound of the Girnar and Mathurā dialects.[3]

The substitution of *dha* for *tha* cannot be said to be a peculiarity of the Pāli language on the ground that in Pāli, too, we have *Madhurā* as a spelling for *Mathurā*, just in the same way that we have in it

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1 See for fuller discussion *passim*, under Geographical Allusions.

2 Vararuci's Prākṛta-prakāśa, XI, 2: *Prakṛtiḥ Śaurasenī*.

3 See Actes du Sixieme Congres International des Orientalistes, part III, p. 140, where Bhagawanlal Indraji remarks: "The whole inscription is in prose. Its language is Prakrit, different from the [ā] (Pillar) inscriptions of Aśoka, but resembling the old Mahārāṣṭra Prakrit of the Western India cave inscriptions." The characterisation is too general to need comments.

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Isigili as a spelling for *Isigiri*, and *Makhādeva* and *Maghādeva* as two spellings for *Mahādeva*. All these were locally current proper names retained in Pāli and meant to be put within inverted commas, that is to say, to be kept distinct from the standard Pāli spellings. The spelling of the name *Mādhava-Videha* as *Māthava-Videgha* occurring in the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa (I. 4. 1) is an apt parallel in Sanskrit literature. The spelling shows that the personal name *Mādhava-Videha* was locally pronounced, most probably by the inhabitants of Videha or Mithila region, as *Māthava-Videgha*.

We mean to say that the spelling *Madhurā* was not due to a Pāli rendering of the Sk. *Mathurā*,—that, in other words, *Madhurā* was a *janapada-niruttī* or *deśī-nāma*, that is to say, a locally current proper name, which found recognition in Pāli. In accordance with a significant statement made by the Buddha in the Araṇavibhaṅga-Sutta of the Majjhima Nikāya (vol. III, part III), one locally current proper name, if it signifies an object for which it is intended, is as good as the other, and there is no sound reason for regarding one of them as more correct than the other. The importance of his statement lies also in the fact that it contains a reasonable explanation for the recognition of a particular form of the proper name, not from any intrinsic superior value of its own, but on account of local adaptation. We quote below his statement in extenso to enable the reader to judge for himself what it is and what it implies:

Janapada-niruttiṃ nâbhiniveseyya, samaññaṃ nābidhāveyyûti-iti kho pana etaṃ vuttaṃ. Kiñc'etaṃ paticca vuttaṃ? Kathañ ca, Bhikkhave, janapada-niruttiyā ca abhiniveso hoti samaññāya ca atisāro? Idha, Bhikkhave, tad ev' ekaccesu janapadesu 'Pāti'ti saññānrnti, 'Pattan'ti, Vitthan'ti, 'Sarāvan'ti, 'Dhāropan'ti', 'Poṇan'ti, 'Pisilan' ti saññānanti. Iti yathā yathā naṃ tesu tesu janapadesu saññānanti tathā tathā thāmasā parāmassa abhinivissa voharati: "Idam eva saccaṃ, mogham aññan" ti. Evaṃ kho, Bhikkhave, janapada-niruttiyā ca abhiniveso hoti samaññāya ca atisāro.[1] *Kathañ ca, Bhikkhave, janapada-niruttiyā ca anabhiniveso hoti samaññāya ca anatisāro*[2]*? Idha, Bhikkhave, tad ev'ekaccesu janapa-*

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1 Buddhaghoṣa's Papañca-Sūdanī, Siamese edition, part III, p. 471: *Tad evan taṃ yeva bhājanaṃ.*

2 *Ibid.*, p. 471: *Abhinivissa voharatīti 'Pattan'ti-saññānana-janapadaṃ gantvā "Pattaṃ āharatha dhovathā" ti sutvā "Andha-puthujjano, nayidaṃ "Pattaṃ 'Pāti' nāma esā, evaṃ vadāhī" ti abhinivissa voharati.*

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'desu 'Pātī'-ti sañjānanti, 'Pattan'ti, 'Vitthan'ti, 'Sarāvan'ti, 'Dhāropan ti, 'Poṇan'ti, 'Pisīlan'ti.[1] *Iti yathā yathā naṃ tesu tesu janapades sañjānanti "Idam kira'me āyasmanto sandhāya voharantī' ti tath tathā voharati aparāmasaṃ.*[2] *Evaṃ kho, Bhikkhve, janapada-niruttiy ca anabhiniveso hoti samaññāya ca anatisāro. Janapda-niruttiṃ nâhh niveseyya, samaññaṃ nātidhāveyyâti—iti yaṃ taṃ vuttam idaṃ etaṃ paṭicca vuttaṃ.*

"The local form of a proper name is not to be dogmatically adhered to, the local designation is not to be pressed too far." Such is the rule as stated. For what reason is the rule so stated? And how is it, O Bhikkhus, that a man becomes inclined to dogmatically adhere to the local form of a proper name and to press the local designation too far? Here, O Bhikkhus, it so happens that in some locality a utensil is known by the name of *Pāti*, in some by the name of *Patta*, in some by the name of *Vittha*, in some by the name of *Sarāva*, in some by the name of *Dhāropa*, in some by the name of *Poṇa*, and in some by the name of *Pisīla*. The inhabitant of a particular locality having strongly embraced and dogamatically adhered to a particular form of the proper name whereby the utensil is known in this or that locality, boastfully says: "This is the only correct form, and the others are incorrect." Thus it is, O Bhikkhus, that a man becomes inclined to dogmatically adhere to the local form of proper name and to press the local designation too far. How is it, O Bhikkhus, that a man does not become inclined to dogmatically adhere to the local form of a proper name and to press the local designation too far? Here, O Bhikkhus, it so happens that a utensil is known by different proper names in different localities, in some by the name of *Pāti*, in some by the name of *Patta*, and so on and so forth. The inhabitant of one locality, when he is in another locality, realising 'that the gentlemen of the second locality conventionally use this form of the proper name to designate this object,' wisely uses that particular form whereby the object is known in that particular locality without any local attachment (that

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1 *Ibid.*, p. 471: *Atisāro'ti abhivādanaṃ* (a misprint for *atidhāvanaṃ*).

2 Buddhaghoṣa's Papañca-Sūdanī, Siamese edition, part III, pp. 471-2: *Tathā tathā voharati aparāmasanti "Amhākaṃ janapade bhājanaṃ 'Pātī'ti vuccati, ime pana naṃ 'Pattan'ti. Tato paṭṭhāya janapada-vohāraṃ muñcetvā 'pattan' t'eva aparāmasanto vohārati.*

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is, abandoning the form whereby the object is known in his own locality). Thus it is, O Bhikkhus, that a man does not become inclined to dogmatically adhere to the local form of a proper name and to press the local designation too far. It is for this reason that the rule is so stated as: 'the local form of a proper name is not to be dogmatically adhered to—the local designation is not to be pressed too far.' "[1]

2. *The Style*

Our old Brāhmī inscriptions are all written in prose, a rhythmic prose abounding in alliterations, elegant expressions, and balanced sentences, clauses and phrases. In reading these inscriptions, especially those which stand in the name of king Khāravela and his chief-queen, one cannot but be tempted to make out verses in them. We venture to say that all attempts made in the direction are destined to end in failure. Their diction is metrical prose without revealing the actual process of versification. In reading out the inscription of Khāravela one is apt to feel as though he were chanting verses in marked cadences, the invocation formula in a variety of Kumāra-Lalita metre and the main text in a kind of Siṃhavikrīḍita.

Scan the invocation formula, as carefully as you may, you cannot confidently class it as a metrical composition in any of the known metres, and yet your inclination will all along be to trace in it a process of versification in the Kumāra-Lalita metre. The fact is that the desire to produce a complete rhythmic effect has led the composer to balance up the groups of sounds in successive sentences, clauses or phrases inducing a tendency to versification within prose construction. So far as its greater rhythmic effect goes, the inscriptional formula ‖ *Namo arihaṃtānaṃ* ‖ *Namo savasidhānaṃ* ‖ shows an improvement upon an earlier Jain formula ‖ *Ṇamo arihaṃtāṇaṃ* ‖ *Ṇamo siḍhāṇaṃ* ‖ which seems to linger in the later full-fledged Jain formula ‖ *Ṇamo arihaṃtāṇaṃ* ‖ *Ṇamo siḍhāṇaṃ* ‖ *Ṇamo āyari-*

1 Here we have refrained from introducing a discussion as to the origin and antiquity of Pāli language, reserving it for a separate monograph. But it is our decided opinion that a conclusion about the antiquity of Pāli drawn from the similarity observed between it and the language of Khāravela's inscription is bound to be a dogmatism and a dangerous presumption.

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yāṇam ‖ *Ṇamo uvaajhāyāṇaṃ* ‖ *Ṇamo loe savva-sāhūṇaṃ* ‖ Comparing the inscriptional formula with the later Jain formula, we detect that after the monotonous repetition of four similar clauses the latter is closed with a clause ‖ *Ṇamo loe savva-sahūṇaṃ* ‖ constructed so as to maintain the rhythm of the whole, and that in this final clause one has a two-syllabic word in addition to those contained in the second clause of the former. In the formula consisting of two clauses, the insertion of one two-syllabic word suffices for the purpose, while in the formula consisting of five clauses, the insertion of an additional word is needed.

I. Inscriptional formula :—

‖ *Namo arihaṃtānaṃ* ‖ *Namo sava-sidhānaṃ* ‖

II. Later Jain Formula :—

‖ *Ṇamo arihaṃtāṇaṃ* ‖ *Ṇamo siḍhāṇaṃ* ‖ *Ṇamo āyariyāṇaṃ* ‖
‖ *Ṇamo uvajhayāṇaṃ* ‖ *Ṇamo loe savva-sāhūṇaṃ* ‖

A similar Buddhist formula of invocation consisting of three clauses can be traced in the Peṭakopadesa which is one of the extra-canonical works presupposed by Buddhaghoṣa's Atthasālinī, and probably also by the Milindapañha.

III. Buddhist Formula in the Peṭakopadesa :—

‖ *Namo sammāsambuddhānaṃ* ‖ *Paramatthadassīnaṃ* ‖
‖ *Sīlādiguṇa-pāramippattānaṃ* ‖

In the Buddhist formula, the first two clauses joined together read like a line of a verse, while the third clause shows that the composition is yet rhythmic prose. The real character of the composition will be manifest if we supply the ommissions and read it as follows :—

‖ *Namo sammāsambuddhānaṃ* ‖ [*Namo*] *paramatthadassīnaṃ* ‖
‖ [*Namo*] *sīlādiguṇa-pāramippattānaṃ* ‖

Coming to the main text of Khāravela's inscription, we find that the effect of rhythm is heightened by a mathematical progression of the volumes of sound, and that the main statement commences from the point where the climax is reached. In such a text as this the verbs are bound to be sparingly used and a rhyming process is bound to play its part as will be evident from the following quotation :—

I (1)—‖ *Airena mahārājena* ‖ *mahāmeghavāhanena* ‖ *ceta-rājavaṃsa-vadhanena* ‖ *pasatha-subha-lakhanena* ‖ *caturaṃta-r akhaṇa-guṇa-upetena* ‖ *Kaliṃgādhipatinā siri-Khāravelena* ‖ *paṃdarasa-vasāni-siri-kaḍāra* ‖ *sarīravatā kīḍitā* ‖ *kumāra-kīḍikā* ‖

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The rhyming process plays its part also in a sentence consisting of several clauses, each with a separate verb :—

I (2)—*pākāra-nivesanaṃ paṭisaṃkhārayati ‖ taḍāgapāḍiyo ca baṃdhāpayati ‖ savūyāna-paṭisaṃṭhāpanaṃ ca kārayati ‖ pakatiyo ca raṃjayati ‖*

In the text of the inscription of Khāravela's chief queen, the same verb is repeated for the sake of rhythm and emphasis :—

II—‖*Arahaṃta-pasādānaṃ Kāliṃgānaṃ samaṇānam leṇaṃ kāritaṃ ‖ rājino Lālākasa Hathisa(ī)hasaṃ panātasa dhutunū Kaliṃga-cakavatino siri-Khāravelasa aga-mahisinā kāritaṃ ‖*

The rhythm is sought to be maintained even in such a short inscription as that of Kamma and Khīnā :—

VII—‖ *Kaṃmasa koṭhā ca ‖ Khīṇāya ca pasādo ‖*

For the sake of rhythm the words are left as they are without being joined according to the rules of Sandhi, *e.g.*, *guṇa-upetena, tivasa-sata-oghāṭitaṃ, kara-vaña-anugaha-anekāni.*[1]

So far as these peculiarities are concerned, our old Brāhmī inscriptions clearly anticipate the Pāli prose style of the Milindapañha, another of the extra-canonical works presupposed by Buddhaghoṣa's commentaries, which, even according to the tradition embodied in it, was not composed within the first five centuries of Buddha's demise. And so far as these peculiarities are concerned, there is nothing save a few long-drawn compounds within the four corners of the Pāli Tipiṭaka to anticipate the prose style of our old Brāhmī inscriptions. The Milinda's descriptions of the city of Sāgala and the earthquake signalising the memorable character of Vessantara's charity, quoted below, will, we believe, show how close is the resemblance of its prose style with that of Khāravela's inscription, in spite of the fact that the prose style of the latter has not as yet attained the maturity of the prose of the former :—

I. Description of Sāgala :—

Atthi Yonakānaṃ nānāpuṭabhedanaṃ Sāgalaṃ nāma nagaraṃ nadīpabbata-sobhitaṃ ramaṇīyabhūmippadesabhāgaṃ ārām-uyyānôpavanataḷāka-pokkharaṇī-sampannaṃ nadī-pabbata-vana-rāmaṇeyyakaṃ, etc.

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1 *Cf. Vasa-abhisita* or *vaṣa.abhisita* (Aśoka's R. E., XIII. Sahbazgarhi; P. E. V. Delhi-Toprā, Delhi-Mirāṭh ; P. E. VI, Delhi-Toprā).

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II. Description of the Earthquake :—

Heṭṭhā mahāvātā saṅcalanti, saṇikaṃ saṇiakṃ sakiṃ sakiṃ ākulākulā vāyanti, onamanti unnamanti vinamanti, sīnappattā pādapā papatanti, gumbagumbaṃ valāhakā sandhāvanti...rudanti yakkhā appesakkhā, hasanti yakkhā mahesakkhā kampamānāya mahāpaṭhaviyā.

Our old Brāhmī inscription's is not the prose style of the Pāli Tipiṭaka, nor that of earlier portions of the Jaina Āgama, nor that of the Vedas, Brāhmaṇas, older Upaniṣads, Kalpa-Sūtras, and Niruktas. So far as their prose style goes, they stand out, in point of time, as a notable landmark in the literary history of India. Just as with reference to the accidental unconscious beginning and maturer development of the style of Kāvya poetry Aśvaghoṣa's Buddha-carita stands midway between the Prologue of the Pāli Nālaka-Sutta as found in the Sutta-Nipāta[1] on one side and Kālidāsa's Kumāra-sambhava on the other, so with reference to the accidental unconscious beginning and maturer development of the rhythmical prose style our old Brāhmī inscriptions represent a link of transition between some of Pāli set formulas of Buddhist precepts and Milinda's descriptions of the city of Sāgala and the earthquake. The Pāli formulas representing an accidental unconscious beginning of the prose style of Khāravela's inscription are being quoted below :—

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1 We mean that the Sutta-Nipāta contains one of the two versions of the Discourse in Indian languages, the other version being found in the Mahāvastu, III, pp. 386-87. If Dhammananda Kosambi's identification be correct, as we believe it is, this is the very Discourse which was recommended for study by King Aśoka in his Bhabru Edict under the title "Moneya-Sute." The verses of the Prologue appear to be a super-growth and later addition. As to the relation between the Pāli Prologue and the Buddhacarita, the following quotations will suffice :—

(*a*) Pāli Prologue—

Dadallamānaṃ siriyā anomavaṇṇaṃ
dassesi puttaṃ Asitavhayassa Sakyū.
Disvā kumāraṃ sikhim iva pajjalanattaṃ
tārāsamaṃ va nabhasigamaṃ visuddhaṃ.

(*b*) Buddha-carita, III, 23 :—

Dṛṣṭvā ca taṃ rājasutaṃ striyas tā jājvalyamānaṃ vapuṣā śriyā ca.

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I. Pāli Formulas of Buddhist Precepts—

(a) *Nacca-gīta-vādita-visūka-dassanā-veramaṇi*

[Vinaya Mahāvagga]

Nacca-gīta-vādita-visūka-dassanā-veramaṇi-sikkhāpadaṃ

[Khuddaka-Pāṭha]

Nacca-gīta-vādita-visūka-dassanā-veramaṇi-sikkhāpadaṃ-samādiyāmi

[Khuddaka-Pāṭha-Comy.]

(b) *mūlā-gandha-vilepana-dhāraṇa-maṇḍana-vibhūsana-ṭṭhānā-veramaṇi*

[Vinaya Mahāvagga]

mūlā-gandha-vilepana-dhāraṇa-maṇḍana-vibhūsana.ṭṭhānā-veramaṇi-sikkhāpadaṃ

[Khuddaka-Pāṭha]

mālā-gandha-vilepana-dhāraṇa-maṇḍana-vibhūsana-ṭṭhānā-veramaṇi-sikkhāpadaṃ samādiyāmi

[Khuddaka-Pāṭha Comy.]

II. Khāravela's Inscription—

I. 4—*Daṃpa-nata-gīta-vādita-saṃdasanāhi kīḍāpayati nagariṃ.*

I. 7—*Sava-kara-vana-anugaha-anekāni-sata-sahasāni visajati porajānapadaṃ.*

Striking, indeed, is the resemblance in respect of the prose style and letter-forms which exists between the Barhut inscriptions attached as labels to two companion scenes depicting one of the Buddha-legends presupposed by those in the Lalita-vistara[1] and the Hāthi-Gumphā inscription of King Khāravela, although the latter show a maturer development :—

I. Barhut Inscriptions—

(a) *Utaraṃ disa tini savata-nisisāni.*
Dakhinaṃ disa cha kāmâvacara-sahasāni.

(b) *Sāḍikasaṃmadaṃ turaṃ devānaṃ.*

II. Hāthi-Gumphā Inscription—

(a) I. 3—*Sātakaniṃ pachima-disaṃ haya-gaja-nara-radha-bahulaṃ daṃḍaṃ.*

(b) I. 12—*Anupadabhavanaṃ ca terasa-vasa-sata-kataṃ bhidati tamiradaha-saṃghātaṃ.*

B. M. BARUA

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1 Cunningham's Stūpa of Bharhut, pt. XIV, S. Gate, Prasenajit Pillar, Middle and Lower Bas-Reliefs.

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Tāranātha's History of Buddhism in India

(Translated from the German version of A. Schiefner)

IV

EVENTS OF THE TIME OF THE VENERABLE UPAGUPTA

Thereafter Upagupta crossed the Ganges and came northwards into the Videha country which was a region to the west of Tirahuti(sic). He established himself in a Vihāra erected by the householder Vasusāra,[1] where the Saṅgha of the four regions was entertained ; and he spent the summer there. While he delivered the teaching at that place, the number of those who attained the grade of an Arahant in three months amounted to a thousand. Having gone thence to the prince of the Gandha mountain,[2] he taught the law, and initiated innumerable men into the Truth. When he reached the city of Mathura that lay on the north-western frontier of Madhyadeśa, the Malla elders and head-merchants Naṭa and Bhaṭa held consultations [among themselves] at the crowded place before the gate of Mathura. After praising the Venerable Upagupta they expressed the wish that he might establish himself in the Vihāra on Mt. Śiras[3] that had been erected by them in the time of the Venerable Śāṇavāsika. When upon a certain time they saw Upagupta from a distance, they exclaimed, "O wonder, he who is coming here from a distance with subdued mind and full of glory is indeed the Venerable Upagupta." After they had taken counsel, they went out a little to meet him, and after bowing down before him they enquired whether he was the venerable Upagupta. When he said that he was so called in the world, they made over to him the Naṭabhaṭika Vihāra that lay on the Mountain Śiras, and provided him with every requisite. When Upagupta delivered the teaching at that place, many bhikṣus

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1 I cannot indicate whether the Sanskrit name found in the text has its correct form ; the Tibetan translation of this name that is found on p. 88 of the Bu-ston agrees with that of Hiraṇyagarbha.

2 Perhaps Gandhamādana is meant.

3 The Tibetan text Śira, i.e., head, is the Uśīra mountain already mentioned on p. 10 [of Schiefner's text].

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and laymen perceived the Truth. When at another time at a gathering of 100,000 men he delivered the teaching, Māra Pāpīya[1] sent a shower of fruits into the city. Many people accordingly went away into the city, but the rest heard the law. When on the second day a shower of clothes fell, many men likewise went away into the city, and when on the third, fourth and fifth days there fell successively the showers of silver, gold and the seven precious stones, the number of those who heard the law was very much decreased. On the seventh day Māra Pāpīya himself took the form of a divine dancer and as his sons and daughters also assumed the forms of male and female dancers ; thirty-six dancers, male and female, appeared in the city and distracted the minds of all men through their variou modes of dancing and magical performances, their lovely songs and their instrumental music, so that there remained nobody to hear the law. At that time the venerable Upagupta also came into the city, and said, "O brave men, as your dance is so beautiful, I will decorate you with garlands". With these words he bound a garland over the head and neck of each. Immediately afterwards through the magical exercise of the venerable Upagupta, the Sinful One with his whole company became decrepit and repulsive with torn clothing, and on the head (of each) there appeared a rotten corpse and on the neck a decomposed dog's carcase, which spread their stench through the ten world-regions and caused nausea through their very sight. Then all the men who had not yet renounced their passions turned away full of vexation, dread and nausea, while holding fast their noses. Then Upagupta asked the Evil One as to why the latter had injured his company. The Evil One answered, "O Venerable One, grant (us) pardon, and free us from the bonds."—Upagupta said, "If you do not come close to my group, I shall do it." He answered, "I will not injure you, even if my body were to be annihilated." Immediately afterwards the body of the Demon obtained peace. He said, "When I injured Gautama at the Bodhimaṇḍa, he dwelt in the samādhi of mildness, but his younger auditors were exceedingly fierce ; then as I wished to play a few of my pranks, the Venerable [Upagupta] has bound me." Then Upagupta entered into a religious conversation with the Evil One, and said, "As I have doubt-

1 The evil demon, the tempter ; with regard to Upagupta may be compared the 7th chapter of the Dsanglun. [The Dsanglun, or more accurately, the Hdsangblun is a Tibetan work of which the title means 'the wise man and the fool'.—Tr.]

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less seen the spiritual body[1] of the Teacher but not His material body while thou hast seen it, show me the form of His body." When the Demon thereupon assumed the form of the Teacher, great devotion was awakened in Upagupta ; embarrassed with bodily trembling and with tears, he wished to lay the joined palms of his hands on his head ; saying, "I bow down to the Buddha". The Evil one, [however], could not bear it, and falling into a swoon, he sank in a heap. Then the Demon vanished and in this way all the men, being filled with repentance, became still more believing ; while he [i.e., Upagupta], having begun from the roots of the fruit, expounded the law through the whole night of the sixth day to all the men that had assembled from the four quarters and were impelled from the roots of their former virtues ; on the seventh day 1,800,000 men perceived the Truth. Then he lived in the Naṭabhaṭika Vihāra to the end of his life-time. Into a cave that was 18 yards long, 12 yards broad, and 6 yards high, each Bhikṣu that had stepped into the religious life, cast, under his orders, on attaining the grade of an arhant, a slip of wood 4" long. Thereupon the cave was afterwards so filled up by men with slips of wood that there remained no intervening space. When at a certain time the venerable Upagupta vanished from existence, and his corpse was committed to the flames along with these slips, the remaining relics were carried off by the gods. He had been prophesied by the Teacher himself as a Buddha without [the characteristic] signs, i.e., as one who, while lacking only the signs and marks of the Buddha, brought to all living being benefit equal to that of the Buddha ; and after the Tathāgata had vanished from existence,there arose no one who was of greater benefit to the world.[2] The time during which Upagupta held the office

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1 These correspond respectively to the terms *dharmakāya* and *rūpakāya*.—Tr.

2 The traditional account of Upagupta given above agrees in the main with other accounts derived from Chinese and Tibetan sources. The Tibetan Dulva, e.g., mentions the same famous prophecy of Gautama Buddha about Upagupta's being born as a Buddha without his characteristic signs [i.e., without the thirty-two signs of the great man] [See Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, p. 164]. In the various versions of the Aśokāvadāna we have almost identical accounts of Buddha's prophecy about Upagupta, of Māra's attempt to interrupt Upagupta's teaching at Mathura by means of miraculous showers of precious things, of his subsequently showing Upagupta the physical

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of the Teacher, synchronised for the most part with the time when Mahendra, son of king Sudhana exercised sovereignty for 9 years and his son Camasa exercised it for 22 years in Aparāntaka. At that time there lived in the west of India the Arhant Uttara whom the king Mahendra honoured very believingly. The inhabitants of Bagala built a Vihāra in a Kukkuṭapāla[1] forest and presented it to him ; it is called by the name of Kukkuṭārāma.

(*To be continued*)

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body of Gautama, and of the cave in which were cast the wooden slips by Bhikṣus attaining the Arhatship under Upagupta's direction (See Przyluski's tr. of the A-yu-wang-tchonan, in his *La Légende de l' Empereur Aśoka*, pp. 353-362). Hiuen Tsang, while visiting the Mathura country, was shown a hill-monastery situated close to the capital which was attributed to Upagupta; and near it a cave wherein were gathered the relics of those who attained Arahatship under Upagupta's direction (Watters, Yuan Chwang, vol. I, p. 306). It should, however, be observed that while Tāranātha calls the hill on which stood the Naṭabhaṭikavihāra Śiras (i.e., Uśīra), other accounts give it the name of Urumaṇḍa which was translated into Chinese as the Great Cream. The puzzle is sought to be solved by Watters who observes (op. cit., p. 308), "The Uśīra hill was at the side of the Urumaṇḍa hill, and the latter may have included the two hills and the wood or forest adjoining."

1 So literally according to the Tibetan text ; it must have been called Kukkuṭapāda ; the building of this vihāra is otherwise ascribed to king Aśoka.

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Some Historical Sites and Monuments of Kerala

I. The Irikkal Palace, Trichur

Two modern local histories, *A Short History of Kerala*[1] (pp. 128f.) by Mr. K. Rāmanuṇṇi Nāyar and *The History of Cochin* (vol. I, Malayāḷam, p. 333)[2] by Mr. K. P. Padmanābha Menon, in which appears a quotation from the former, refer to an Irikkal Palace situated to the west of the Trichur Fort. Though these works were published more than 15 years ago, no attempt seems to have been made to identify the place and to explore it. In the course of my researches, I have been able to identify this palace which is now in ruins. A short note on this ancient historic site will not, it is hoped, be uninteresting.

Both the above-mentioned authors state that, in 1505-6, when the Portuguese Governor, Dom Francisco D'Almeyda, superseded the claims of the two senior princes of the Cochin royal family as being partisans of the Zāmorin, and enthroned a Vīra Keraḷa Tampurān, the two elder princes rebelled and sought the Zāmorin's aid. The latter, with a body of 500 Nāyars, is said to have stayed in the Irikkal Palace of one (*unnamed*) Nambūtiripāḍ who received him in a splendid manner, quite befitting the exalted status and dignity of the distinguished royal guest. The Zāmorin is said to have alighted from his palanquin at the *Naṭippura* (the outhouse at the gate) and to have been led to the portico along a roofed pathway (*naṭappura*) about 72 feet long, decorated with white sand and carpeted (*veḷḷayum karimpaḍavum viriccu*), while on both sides were presented to his dazzled vision a glittering array of artistically entwined golden chains (*ponnarañjāṇ*). The historian, probably in his inability to give a full and exhaustive account, contents himself with saying that the rest of the reception was on an equally grand scale. The next day the Zāmorin and the Nāmbūtiripāḍ, after their morning bath, are said to have

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1 Published by Mr. P. Kuññikṛṣṇa Menon, Koṭṭakkal Press, N. Malabar, 1084 M. E. This work records many traditions relating to the early and mediæval history of the country. I am very much indebted to Mr. T. K. Kṛṣṇa Menon, B.A., M. R. A. S., for lending me a copy of this very rare work for perusal.

2 Bhāratavilāsam Press, Trichur.

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prayed in the Vaḍakkunnāthan Temple and proceeded to the (Vaḍakkekkara) Palace, Trichur, by the northern *gopuram*. The 1,000 Nāyars of the Nambūtiripāḍ, it is said, assisted the Zāmorin who had brought only 500 Nāyars. It is also mentioned that the present Bhagavatī Temple at Irikkal (*a place unidentified by the writers*) is the *paradevatā* (tutelary deity) set up in the central court-yard (*naḍumuṟṟam*) of the Nambūtiripāḍ, and that three large and finely built tanks and a few small ponds can still be seen there.

Such is the account given by the historians referred to above. This, subject to certain modifications, is not only borne out, but is also supplemented, by what can even now be gathered from a survey of the present day remains and a study of them in the light of local traditions.

Ruins of the Kovilakam

Relics of this *Kovilakam* can still be observed in the *deśam* of Oḷarikkare which is about two miles south-west of Tṛśūr, on the road to Perumpuḷa, Antikkāḍ and other places. It has a temple dedicated to Bhadrakāḷī which is held in much veneration by the inhabitants of that *deśam* and the adjacent *deśams* of Ayyantoḷe, Putūrkkara Pulleyil and Ceṟṟupuḷa, and they all join together to celebrate with considerable pomp its *vela* or annual festival in regulated succession. A furlong to the south of it there exists a very extensive garden which was originally owned by the Kiḻakkiniyeḍatt Nambūtiripāḍ, but which now belongs to Mr. A. Śankara Poduvāḷ, B.A., B.L., M.L.C., Chief Court Vakil, Ernakulam. It contains two big tanks, two small ones or *kokkarṇīs* and half a dozen wells having a constant supply of water. Of these tanks, the largest is in the lowest level, and is situated in the south-western portion of the compound, touching the rice-fields beyond. It is about 234 feet (north to south) by 144 feet, excluding the 4 ghāṭs leading to it (on the eastern side), and besides, it has got a bathing shed attached to it. The pond appears to have been used from early times for bathing and latterly for irrigation and other purposes, as is the case with the other one in the north-western corner of the garden which is only about 56 ft. by 46 ft., with a single bathing ghāṭ. The two *kokkarṇīs* are of comparatively smaller size, one of about 64½ ft. by 28½ft. and another of 40 ft. by 9 ft. Of these, the second is about 150 ft. west from the gate-house and is located towards the western extremity of the *naṭappura*. It appears to have been used,

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according to the ancient Kerala custom, for washing the face and feet by the incoming visitor, after which alone he could enter the precincts of a Brahmin dwelling house. It is constructed between the private residence of the male members (*pattāyappura*) and the double quadrangular structure or *ettukettu* usually allocated to the females. These buildings must have been raised on the north and south of the *nāṭappura*, traces of which have to be followed up and studied in detail. The other *kokkarṇī* is a few feet off to the north-west of the double *nālukettu*, and was probably intended for ladies. At the north-east corner of this edifice is a comparatively large well, about 14½ ft. in diameter, and built of a superior kind of hard laterite stone, each 2 ft. by about 1 ft. and roughly 10" thick. This might have been the kitchen well; because, according to the Hindu Tatchuśāstra, the kitchens are generally situated at the north-eastern end of the family house. Some cooking utensils too are reported to have been discovered in the course of a vain attempt to dry up the well during the summer of 1927. It may be stated here that all the ponds are built of hard laterite stones, most probably dug out of the inexhaustible quarries in which the site abounds and which might have given the name "Irikkal" to the *deśam*.[1]

The site of the *ettukettu* or northern block is roughly about 150 ft. by 105 ft. But what part of this area was actually taken up by the building we cannot say. The same remark has to be made with regard to the other blocks. The *pattāyappura* or the southern block is elevated from the ground by about 8 ft. The ditch to the east of it has been recently filled up, so that a means of ascertaining its past history is now lost; but from the existing remains we may take it to be the larger mansion. It is no less than 116 ft. by 106 ft. Each of the steps leading to it from the *naṭappura* is 26 ft. long, and about 1 ft. high. The basement of the *pattāyappura* is over 7 ft. in height. The eastern extremity of its lowest step is 25 ft. from the base of the *paṭippura*, three stone-paved steps of which can still be traced through the labyrinth of rubbish blocking the entrance of old. The *taṛa* (base) of the building itself is about 8 ft. from the floor, and the length of the *taṛa* on the west (from south to north) is roughly 37½ ft., being 8½ ft. on both sides of the steps,

1 For instance, we find that the countless laterite gneissian rocks and hills gave rise to the name of "Kallil" to a place near Perumbāvūr in North Travancore. Cf. Kalleṭṭinkara.

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which are themselves 20 ft. 6 in. long. The remains of the stone wall at the eastern entrance to the house can be seen from the country-road outside. The breadth of this edifice may have been about 10 ft. The moat surrounding the site begins from the *paṭippura*, and is about 8 ft. in depth at present, while it is over 10 ft. wide. The remains of the moat and the stone wall can also be traced on the northern and eastern extremities of the present compound.

On the high ground to the east of the large *ciṟa* in the south-west of the garden can be traced the remains of another edifice, the exact extent and nature of which cannot now be definitely ascertained. Here there is a quarrylike hollow from which large blocks of stone appear to have been detached and taken away even in recent times. Of those still scattered about the place, one measures about 2 ft. 6 in. by 1 ft. The place might have been the quarters of some of the Chief's retainers and servants. This site is now used as a grazing ground, while the sites of the two buildings referred to above are used for dry cultivation.

An interesting feature of this historic site is the existence of a very huge laterite boulder, 8¼ ft. in height, fixed into the slope of the hillock on which the *Kovilakam* has been erected. It must have been originally spherical in shape ; more than a third of the spherical portion, towards the lower terrace adjoining the above-mentioned *ciṟa*, has been cleanly cut off from it vertically, so that the remaining part, especially towards the floor, gradually narrows down to form a hollow. The soil in front of this enclave is loamy, and this cavity is approached by a narrow circuitous pathway from above—now beset with brambles and choked with rank vegetation and, perhaps, covered up in bygone days. All these suggest the probable existence of a closed up underground passage.

Traditions regarding the place

That these are but the extant relics of the ancient glory and prowess of the lordly Irikkal Chiefs, who are related to have played a by no means insignificant part in Cochin politics, is confirmed by a study of the local traditions concerning the family, fondly treasured up by the old people of the locality, including the descendants of those once famous local potentates. According to the popular tradition even now current in the place, the Kiḻakkiniyeḍatt Nambūtiripāḍ owned the whole of the Oḷarikkare (Oḷarikkal) *deśam* and

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a considerable portion of the *Sanketam*[1] of the Vaḍakkunnāthan Temple, the Nambūtiripāḍ having been also one of its chief Ūrāḷars.[2] I identify this Nambūtiripāḍ with the Irikkal Chief.

One of the reasons traditionally assigned for the downfall of this *nāduvāḻi* family is their open hostility to the reigning Rājā of Cochin, as evinced by the support they gave to the insurrections of the Cochin princes and the Zāmorin. Local tradition supplements the

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1 A *Sanketam* is the closely guarded preserve round the abode of a Hindu deity or the equally sacred quarters of Brāhmaṇas, which was originally controlled by a powerful and independent religious corporation called "*Yogam*", mainly composed of Brāhmaṇas. The temporal and sacredotal jurisdiction of these temples extends over all this area in which the slaughter of cattle and other sacred animals as also of human beings, the drawing and drinking of toddy and other spirituous liquors, the entry of low castes and non-Hindus and similar other "polluting and heinous" acts, are prohibited. In some *Sanketams* meant for the residence of priests, women also are denied entrance, the former being enjoined to a life of strict purity and célibacy. The *Sanketam* was a sanctuary which none, not even the most tyrannical of sovereigns, dared violate, for fear of social ostracism and religious ex-communication. It was virtually an *imperium in imperio*. It afforded an asylum to all fugitives, not excepting even the worst offenders against law. Very few *Sanketams* now exist, as, with the advancing march of civilization, the deities had to accommodate themselves as best they could, to the altered conditions of social life. According to the earliest tradition available, the Trichur *Sanketam* lay between Puḷakkal, Pāṭṭurākkal, Viyyūr, Kiḻakkumbāṭṭukara, and Kūrkañceri.

2 I hear that from very ancient times, the 5 *Illakkārs* in Puṟanāṭṭukara and some others in Trichur were the Ūrāḷars of the Vaḍakunnāthan Temple, and that the Kiḻakkiniyeḍatt Nambūtiripāḍ of Puṟanāṭṭukara, by his power, wealth and status, was by far the most prominent one among them, and had a predominating voice in its management. The *Illam* is said to have had an annual income of 3 lakhs of *paṟās* of paddy, and to have owned the Maṇattiṭṭu Temple near by, and most probably it had much to do with the administration of the affairs of the Ayyantoḷe Bhagavatī Temple, in both of which the worship is still conducted by representatives of the *Illam*.

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historian's account of the Zāmorin's visit by saying that he was welcomed with a golden *paṛa* containing a golden bunch of tender cocoanuts, another filled with *faṇams*, a huge golden lamp (*nilaviḷakku*), etc. The Kiḻak-*kini*-yeḍatt Nambūtiripāḍ headed the religious faction opposed to the Perumpaḍappu Swarūpam, and according to tradition, it was the interpretation of certain religious and social customs that first sowed the seed of dissension between the two rival Swarūpams of Cochin and Calicut. Tradition also speaks of some of the Irikkal Chiefs paying visits to the Zāmorin's Court, and of their being held high in the estimation of Zāmorin.

One of the Irikkal Chiefs is stated to have supplied His Highness Rāma Varma, the *Śaktan Tampurān*, with a huge *kiṇḍi* or metal vessel, the spout of which was big enough to admit into it a well-built man. It was intended for storing all the water required for a grand feast given by him in the Trichur Palace, or as others say, for a great *kalaśam* or purificatory ceremony performed at his instance in the Vaḍakkunnāthan Temple. The vessel was never returned by the Rājā. This prince also is reported to have been entertained in right royal fashion by the Chief. The golden plates used for serving meals are stated to have been thrown indifferently into the *naḍumuṟṟam*, after each course. Such a studiedly indifferent display of wealth might have been rightly regarded as insolent by the prince. This, no doubt, roused his ire, and he set the royal elephants to make short work of the edifice. This was in the year 948 M.E. (1773 A.C.). He was deprived of his *uraimaship* in the Vaḍakkunnāthan Temple, Trichur, to which he paid visits in a stately palanquin borne over white cloth spread out on white sand thrown all the way from his *Kovilakam* to the temple—a distance of at least two miles. Almost all the lands and other property of the Nambūtiripāḍ were confiscated (*paṇḍāram keṛi*, as the common people would have it) leaving his family but some lands just sufficient for bare maintenance. Thus reduced in status, bereft of all his former glory, deprived of all rights and privileges in the temple, and dispossessed of his material wealth, he was compelled to seek a temporary asylum in a Nāyar house in Ayyantoḷe till the *deśakkār* built for him their present family residence in the same *deśam*. He was granted a special pension—in this case a political and state pension[1]—annually and in perpetuity.

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1 This amounts to 68 Cochin *faṇams* or Rs. 19-7-8 at 4 as. 7 ps. per *faṇam*. (Vide *the Cochin Legislative Council Proceedings*, Vol. II,

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The building materials of the demolished palace are believed to have been employed for the rebuilding of the Trichur Palace, while three of the four granite pillars in one of the quadrangles of the old family mansion have been removed to provide supports to the roofs of the ghāṭs of the Brahmaswam or Vaḍakke Maḍhom (below the *Paṭiñjāṛe Keṭṭu* or western hall used for the chanting of Vedic lore) leading into the *Paṭiñjārē Ciṛa*, one of the columns having been broken in the course of transmission. Some of the bigger bronze and brass vessels still carrying traces of the family monogram—*"Kiḻakkiniyeḍam vaka—alla Kocci Sirkar vaka"*—are still preserved in the Vaḍakkunnāthan Devaswam and the Trichur *Ūṭṭupura* stores, while some are reported to be at Tṛppūṇittuṛa. Some remains of rafts, cooking utensils, a bronze lamp (*nilaviḻakku*), etc., are said to have been discovered in the principal kitchen well.

Till the end of the 18th century, and for some years afterwards, the site was in the hands of the Government. The Government of Śaktan Tampurān's successor was graciously pleased to relinquish control of that ancient site and to grant it to this *Illam*, on the application of a member of it. Some years ago, one of the old Nambutiripāḍs, the grandfather of the present *Kāraṇavan* of the Ayyantoḷe *Illam*, is reported to have lived and died in the scene of the labours of his forefathers, in a small cottage built by him on the site of the present tank shed; for, when the family property was partitioned in 1829, this garden had fallen to the lot of the *Tāvaḻi* living in Ayyantoḷe. The present owner appears to have purchased the same from them about 20 years ago.

The tutelary deity of Bhagavatī set up in the *naḍumuṛṛam* of the palace has a story of its own. Decades ago, many of the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages were affected by terrible epidemics believed to have been caused by the indifference shown towards the

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pp. 1134 and 1177). The pension is now being shared, after partition in 1004 M.E. (1829 A.C.), by the three families in Cembukkāvu, Maṇattiṭṭu and Ayyantoḷe *deśams* on the outskirts of Trichur. I understand, however, that, according to an old *Pativu* grant, dated 986 M.E. (1811 A.C.), the pension was by way of an assignment of revenue in paddy to the extent of 1200 *paṛās* per year, payable in the old Trichur *Proverti*. It was probably at the Settlement previous to 1080 M.E. that this family subsistence was converted into a monthly grant receivable at the Trichur Treasury.

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idol lying in the courtyard. Consequently, the *deśakkār* were prompted to instal the deity in a newly constructed shrine near the road-side, and slightly removed from the then deserted site. This is said to be the present Oḷarikkare Bhagavatī (Bhadrakālī) shrine, the oracle priest or *Veḷiccappād* of which was lately invested with the insignia of his office, the sword (*paḷḷivāḷ*), the jingling waist belt (*aramaṇi*), the anklets (*cilambūs*) and the red cloth to be bound round the waist (*kūra*) by the Kiḻakkiniyedatt Nambūtiripād of Ayyantoḷe.

According to another tradition, the present site of the temple is the *naḍumuṟṟam* of a Nāyar house called Nangeli. The origin of the temple is thus described : The Nangeli Nāyar, on his return to Oḷarikkare, after worshipping the Crānganur Bhagavatī, deposited his sword in his house. When he wished to take it up again, it is said to have been possessed of a divine charm and become *Svayambhū*. The image of the Bhagavatī of Crānganur was set up there.

A third tradition says that the site was taken up originally by an outhouse of the Nambūtiripād, assigned for the use of Nāyar travellers and guests. The Nangeli Nāyar, who was one of those pilgrims collecting subscriptions and donations to be laid before the Bhagavatī at Crānganur, halted at the place. The next day he found that the sword that he had placed in the house could not be lifted up. When astrologers were consulted, he was informed that the sword possessed the divine virtues of the Crānganur Bhagavatī. The *deśakkar*, then, helped him to build a Bhadrakālī temple there. The Nambūtiripād, in virtue of his ownership of the site and influence he commanded in the locality, was vested with the power to invest the *Veḷiccappād* with the emblems of his authority.

The first tradition seems to be less reliable ; for, the temple might have come into existence even in the first half of the 18th century, that is, long before the time of Sāktan Tampurān. From an inscription in Malayāḷam characters and in the Malayāḷam language written on the base of the granite *dīpastambham* in front of the shrine, we see that it was built on the 17th of Mitunam 911 M. E. or 1736 A. C. The first tradition may,therefore, refer only to the renovation of the temple in its present shape. The second tradition differs from the third only in the fact of the ownership of the original site of the temple. It is not known whether the second tradition originated only after the third or *vice versa*, in the attempt to concoct evidence as to the ownership of the temple. In any case, the tradition regarding the sword becoming a *svayambhū* is strongly rooted in the minds of the people.

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From a geographical point of view, the situation of this place leads us to presume that it could well have been the seat of a mighty and prominent *nāduvāḷi*. The private property of this "lord of many acres," situated in the midst of a miniature plateaux, reaches out into the wide expanse of rice fields below by a succession of gentle undulations. In the present state of the depression in the west of the compound we are unable to understand definitely how much of it has been silted up by the onrush of water borne from the slopes of the hill above. At least in the rainy season, the palace must have been approachable by country crafts *via* Araṇāṭṭukara, Kāriyāṭṭukara and other neighbouring places on the backwater. There is no doubt that the *Koviḷakam* was very favourably situated on the highway for commerce between Trichur and the backwater. Even now, when the land is gradually rising and receding from the lagoons, the Oḷarikkare *deśam* is barely a mile from the Pulleyil and Araṇāṭṭukara *Kadavūs* or landing places, which connect it with that extensive system of backwater lying between Tirūr and Trivandrum.

Historically, the tradition of the Zāmorin's visit may contain an element of truth in it, as will be seen from a brief study of the relevant political events of the period. When Dom Fransico D'Almeyda, the Portuguese Viceroy, arrived in Cochin in November, 1505, the succession to the Cochin throne was contended by the two senior princes of the *Mūtta Tāvaḷi* on the one hand and the third prince (the *Vīra Keraḷa Tampurān*) Rama Varma on the other, known to the Portuguese as Uṇṇi Rāma Koil Tirumulpād of the *Eḷaya Tāvaḷi*, and set up on the *musnad* by the retiring Rājā with Portuguese assistance. The elder *anantiravans* were partisans of the Zāmorin and openly hostile to the state, and hence were disinherited. But they were not without their supporters among the *Nāḍuvāḷīs* and *Swarūpis*, including prominent Nambūtiris, some zealous in their cause, others lukewarm, but all alarmed at the unauthorised interference of the Portuguese and amazed at the unprecedented supersession of superior claims. They, therefore, protested against their exclusion from succession and expulsion from the country, so that even the Rājā, who had, as usual, assumed the titles and dignities attached to the time-honoured *Perumpaḍappu Mūppu Sthānom*, began to doubt the validity and justice of his action. To crown all, soon after the coronation of the Vīra Keraḷa Tampurān by Almēdya, the two princes, along with the Zāmorin, invaded the country. The Irikkal Chief, who possessed a militia of 1,000 Nāyars,

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or possibly more, might have been one of the local potentates who espoused their cause.[1]

We have no positive proof to show that Rāma Varma, the regent, ever bestirred himself about the complete suppression of the recalcitrants. We find that, again in 1510, when Goda Varma, the recluse, died as *Perumaḍappu Mūppil*, Alfonso D'Albuquerque had once more to suppress Brahmin and other aristocratic opposition to the Portuguese policy of retaining Rāma Varma as king, instead of allowing him to retire to the *Perumaḍappu Mūppu Sthānom*. At that time detachments of the Zāmorin's Nāyars and other partisans and retainers in Cochin appear to have assisted the *Mūtta Tāvaḷi* princes on their arrival at Vaipin to enforce their claims.[2]

Besides, wholesale confiscation of property as a political measure appears to have been largely resorted to mainly in the latter half of the 18th century A.C., or, to be more precise, after 1760. With the assistance of the Travancore army, drilled and disciplined by Captain D'Lannoy, the Zāmorin was finally expelled from the Cochin State, and, by the end of 1763, most of the Chiefs were divested of all administrative and military powers, which were subsequently vested in officers directly responsible to the Rājā. The greatest offenders like the Nambiyārs of Muriyanād and Velosnād, were deprived of all their possessions, titles and dignities, and well nigh reduced to beggary, while to the Talappiḷḷi Rājās, the Cengaḷi Nambiyār, the Koraṭṭi Kaimaḷ, the Koṭāsseri Kartta, and a host of others, were meted out punishments varying according to the enormity of their crimes and the whims of the royal will.[3] The Nambūtirīs of the Trichur, Perumanom and other *grāmoms* who had joined the Zāmorin, and set at naught the authority of their respective *yogams* and of the king, were similarly dealt with. Specific mention is made in the *Grandhavari* (chronicle) of the Vaḍakkunāthan Devaswom of the fact that in 938 M.E. the Perumpadappu Swarupam confiscated the proper-

1 Mr. K. P. Padmanābha Menon, *The History of Cochin*, vol. I, pp. 330-4. Vide also vol. II, p.330. He states that the Nambūtirīs of the Trichur *Grāmom* used to invite the Zāmorin to Trichur, whenever they had an opportunity.

2 Vide page 74 of the *Cochin State Manual* by Mr. C. Acyuta Menon, B.A.

3 *Ibid.*, pp. 174-5. Vide also pp. 319, 346, vol. II, *History of Cochin* by Mr. K. P. Padmanābha Menon.

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ties and assumed the titles and dignities of the Nambutiri rebels of the Trichur *grāmom*, and assigned to the Devaswom for disposal of the perquisites which were being granted to them by the Devaswom.

Be that as it may, there is no doubt that it was Prince Rāma Varma, the Śaktan Tampurān, who has been referred to in the traditions mentioned above and who was the actual ruler of the country from 1769 to 1805, that gave a deathblow to the feudal system in Cochin. This fact is further supported by other traditions which record his suppression of the still militant nobility and the extinction of the dying embers of insurrection. It is probable that the Irikkal Chief was at first deprived only of his *uraimāship* of the Vaḍakkunnāthan Temple in the early sixties of the century, and that it was only subsequent to the grand *Kalaśam*[1] in the same shrine conducted by Śaktan Tampurān in the second year of his regency (1770), which is referred to in one of the traditions noticed above, that his final overthrow came. Thus the traditional date of 948 M.E. (1773 A.C.) for his downfall may, after all, turn out to be true.

In any case, it will be seen that the final retribution came, not from the Vīra Keraḷa Tampurān of Portuguese fame, but from a prince of the 18th century, Vīra Keraḷa Varma by name, or, more probably, from that redoubtable warrior and champion of the poor, the Śaktan Tampurān, and that tradition has attributed to the latter this achievement of subduing a rebellious vassal, who had the courage to join the insurgents and the Zāmorin, and the haughtiness to accord what was more than a princely welcome to the Zāmorin and to a prince of the Cochin royal family.[2]

A. GOVINDA WARIAR

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1 Vide page 372 of vol. II, *History of Cochin.*

2 I am very much indebted to my friends, the late Mr. C. Nārāyaṇa Menon of the Divisional Forest Office, Trichur, and Mr. Aḍityāṭṭ Kṛṣṇa Menon, the Malayāḷam Pandit of the Vivekodayam School, Trichur, for kindly helping me in all possible ways to get at the traditions and relics connected with this ancient *Kovilakam.*

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Notes on the Laṅkāvatāra

Prof. Hauer has started a series of studies, chiefly dedicated to the critical investigation of Indian religion.[1] We cannot help being very greateful to him for this, because we must acknowledge that the various aspects of Indian religion are not yet studied as they deserve.

I do not need to insist on proving the great importance of this research, which is likely to throw much light on many a problem; chiefly on that of the extent of the influences exercised by the aboriginal element on the evolution of Indian religious thought and Indian civilization in general. The Vedas have a great importance, no doubt, but it is also true that Indian gods, mythology, practices, theories about sacrifice, etc., are, on the whole, very different from the religious ideas expounded in that famous book. The study of the last phases of Mahāyāna Buddhism, and of its relation with the Hindu systems proper, will prove of the greatest importance for this kind of research; because it is just in the literature of that period that we find the most important documents of these new conceptions and meet the names of a host of gods, demons and goblins of whom we did not hear before that time.

For this reason I think that Prof. Hauer is quite justified in having started his Series with the study of such an important Mahāyāna text as the Laṅkāvatāra, which contains some very interesting allusions to the relation between the Buddha and the gods of Hinduism (cf. e.g., p. 192).

The first of the papers dedicated to our text is chiefly concerned with the refutation of the Sāṅkhya system contained in the Laṅk., X, 546 ff. This section has been translated by the author, as he thinks that it represents the reply of the Mahāyāna to the new claim of the Sāṅkhya to be the doctrine of salvation (p. 5.). This Sāṅkhya is, according to the A., the new exposition of the system as contained

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1 J. W. Hauer, Das Laṅkāvatāra-Sūtra und das Sāṅkhya (eine vorläufige Skizzeo, Stuttgart, 1927.

Id. Die Dhāraṇī im nördlichen Buddhismus und ihre parallelen in der sogennannten Mithrasliturgie. Ibid.

Beiträge zur Indischen Sprachwissenschaft und Religionsgeschichte.

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in the Sāṅkhyakārikā of Īśvarakṛṣṇa. The chronology of either text seems to support this view. In fact, this refutation is contained in the tenth Chapter of the Laṅk., which is wanting in the first Chinese translation by Guṇabhadra (443 A.D.), while it is found in the second translation, made by Bodhiruci in the year 513 A.D. On the other hand, we may suppose that the *kārikā* was composed about 450 A.D. That is true, but I do not think we are allowed to infer from this, that there is any interdependence of this kind between the *kārikā* and the Xth Chapter of the Laṅk. First of all, the history of the various redactions of this text, represents a very difficult and complex problem. I have compared the three Chinese translations with the Sanskrit original and I already had the opportunity to point out that the text of the Laṅkāvatāra underwent many changes,[1] so that we may safely assume that different redactions of the Laṅk. circulated not only at different times, but also in different places. It is true that the allusion to the Huns, which is found in X, 785, must go back to the first decade of the 7th century A.D., but the fact remains that the Sanskrit text of the Xth Chapter, as it has been handed down to us in the Nepalese manuscripts, looks like a compilation from various sources. Thus it has been enlarged by the insertion of various *ślokas* already quoted in the preceding chapters in prose.[2] As a

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1 See my Studio comparativo fra le tre versioni cinesi ed il testo sanskrito del i capitolo del Laṅkāvatāra, Memorie della R. Accademia dei Lincei, serie v, vol xviii, fasc. 5; and Una nuova edizione del Laṅkāvatāra in Studi Mahāyānici, Rivista di studi Orientali, vol. X.

2 In Studi Mahāyānici, pp. 574 ff., I have given a list of the verses inserted in the text, which have been repeated in the tenth chapter. This fact makes me rather doubtful whether many of the other verses collected there are not taken from some Mahāyāna text belonging to the same current of thought. Prof. Hauer thinks that the first Chapter belongs to the most ancient redaction of the book. I can hardly believe that; in fact, it cannot be found in the translation of Guṇabhadra, and it has but very little relation with the rest of the book. On the other hand, I think that the gāthās represent the most ancient nucleus of the book, as it is shown by the numerous Prakritisms that have survived and that the redactors of the present vulgata could not avoid: e.g., desemi, pp. 76, 176, 181; vibhāvento, p. 95; vikalpenti, pp. 185 186; nāśenti, p. 190; deśyante for deśyamāne, p. 201.

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rule, all these double verses cannot be found in the translation of Śikṣānanda. This I say in order to show that the problem of the various strata composing the vulgata of the Laṅk. as well as the other concerning the age to which they must be attributed is a very complex one. They can only be solved by the comparative study of the Tibetan and Chinese translations. Therefore it is evident that the chronology based upon any passage of the present text cannot be relied upon as definitive, until the history of the text has been reconstructed. On the other hand, the refutation of the Sāṅkhya system, as contained in X, 558ff, is neither one of the earliest, nor one of the best. The refutation of the *satkāryavāda* (Sāṅkhya) as well as of the *asatkāryavāda* (Vaiśeṣika) forms one of the chief contents of the dogmatical works of Mahāyāna Buddhism. It can be found in the Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra of Nāgārjuna, in the Śataśāstra of Āryadeva, in the Buddhagotraśāstra attributed to Vasubandhu etc.[1] Nor shall we forget that Vasubandhu and Diṅnāga refuted at length the Sāṅkhya theories in their Paramārthasaptati and Pramāṇasamuccaya respectively. Moreover, as Diṅnāga himself tells us in his commentary upon the Nyāyamukha[2] he wrote a book exclusively devoted to refuting the Sāṅkhya system. Shen T'ai, a disciple of Yuan Chwang, who commented upon the Nyāyamukha, tells us that this work was a very large one, as it contained six thousand *ślokas*.

Therefore I do not think that this criticism of the Sāṅkhya as contained in the Laṅkāvatāra can really throw much light on the history of the controversy between the two systems. In fact, we must acknowledge that the value of the Laṅkāvatāra, as a philosophical book, is rather limited, although it is of the highest importance for the history of the evolution of the Mahāyāna Buddhologie and "Erlosungslehre."

But I can hardly believe that the passage in question is expressly directed against the Sāṅkhya system. It is only meant to assert the idealistic view which is expounded throughout the book. Kapila, it is true, is referred to by name in the verse X, 558 and in three other places; but Kaṇāda also is quoted in X, 548.

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1 For other references see Ui's, Vaiśeṣika philosophy.

2 See my English translation of the Nyāyamukha in "*Materialien zur Kunde des Buddhismus*," edited by Prof. Walleser, Heidelberg, to be published shortly.

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And throughout the chapter allusions to the Vaiśeṣika theories can easily be found. The fact is that the author of this book simply expounds and develops his theory, and only occasionally criticises those systems that seem to support a realistic conception of the world. As the author shows the inacceptability of these *darśanas*, he indicates at the same time the antinomy in which the Hīnayāna is involved. This emerges quite well also from the fragment translated by Prof. Hauer, although, it cannot be considered as one of the most important of the whole book ; e.g., in verses 560-61 we read :[1]

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1 I am sorry to say that I cannot accept the translation proposed by Prof. Hauer who is very often wrong in the interpretation of the text.

I choose a few examples out of the many, which will show once more the difficulty of the translation of these technical texts.

The stanza 560 cannot be rendered : "der gehört zu unserer Partei, der sich gelöst hat von der Meinung derer, die Sein und Nichtsein annehmen" etc.

The literal translation has been given by me above. The text of 565 has been completely misunderstood. The two subjects of the sentence are *tathatā* and *cittamātram* ; these belong to the categories admitted by the Saints and as such they exist; those who affirm that they do not exist cannot be considered as experts in the doctrine of the Buddha. In verse 569, I do not see any trace of Sāṅkhya theories, nor do I think that *param* and *tantram* can be rendered by : das höchste Wesen and das Gewebe (das eine as als Beispiel einer Einbildung in der Metaphysik, das anderes als irdischer Beleg in der Dialektik des Sāṃkhya). We have here an allusion to the *paratantra* and *parikalpita* the *dvilakṣaṇa* proper to this school. The five dharmas are those already referred to at p. 224 *nāma, nimitta, vikalpa, samyagjñāna, tathatā.*

In 577, c and d cannot be translated : "ein Sein, das keine Ursache hat, ist auch nicht, weil ja keine Verursachung statthat," but : "they (the *bālās*) do not know (*aprajānataḥ, sic metri causa*) that this world has not any external causation and it is not produced (having been before non-existent) ;" 580, "na ca vai puṣyate cittam" cannot be translated, "kein Denken sprosst ;" this refers to the well-known theory of the *puṣṭi* of the *vijñāna* through the *bījās* ; 581 a, "is in order to stop the theory of the utpāda" etc.

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"My thesis is not a thesis that affirms the existence or the non-existence (of the objects), it does not state that this world is derived from causes and conditions, or maintain that there is a birth and a destruction of the dharmas; it does not assert that there is a dharma whatever that can be defined. When one recognizes that this world is similar to a magic show, or to a dream, devoid of causes and conditions, without a primeval cause, then the *vikalpa* does not develop (cf. 591, 592 etc.)." The allusion to the theory of the causes and conditions and chiefly of the birth and destruction of the dharmas, *utpatti*, *sthiti*, *bhaṅga*, must be referred to the Hīnayāna. On the other hand, the author says that the doctrine of the Buddha does not admit of any primeval cause, in order to refute those systems that believe in some causation of the world (cf. p. 103, *Tīrthakarā api, bhagavan, kāraṇata utpattiṃ varṇayanti, yad uta pradhāneśvarapuruṣakālāṇupratyayebyo bhāvānām utpattayaḥ*).

But to which school did the Laṅkāvatāra originally belong? It is in general believed that it represents Yogācāra ideas. But, of course, we cannot learn very much from this mere name, because Yogācāra has certainly a very wide meaning. It is also considered as a synonym of Vijñānavāda, and therefore even the *vijñaptimātratā* theory of Vasubandhu is put under that same item.

In fact, according to the Chinese tradition the book is considered as one of the six *sūtras* of the *Lakṣaṇa* school. But if we read these volumes it will be easy to recognize that, though there are some fundamental notions that can be found all throughout, each text or group of texts presents its own peculiarities.

The dogmatical structure of the Yogācāryabhūmiśāstra of Asaṅga or the treatises of Vasubandhu includes, it is true, many ideas that are expounded in the Laṅkāvatāra, the Mahāyānaśraddhotpādaśāstra, the Sandhinirmocana, the Buddhagotraśāstra etc., but so far as the general lines of the system are concerned, they show unmistakable influences of the Sautrāntika doctrines.[1] Therefore we shall not be astonished at seeing that in some non-Buddhist texts, as for instance in the works of Vācaspatimiśra, Mādhava, etc., the Yogācāra are very often mixed with the Sautrāntikas; in the Nyāyabindu-ṭikā-ṭippaṇī, the definition of the *pratyakṣa* as *Kalpanāpoḍham* that was

1 I am glad to see that Prof. Stcherbatsky also in his last book "The Buddhist Nirvāṇa" has recognized the relation between the *Sautrāntikas* and the *Yogācāras* (pp. 29 ff.).

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formulated by Diṅnāga is called *Yogācāra*, while that of *Dharmakīrti*, *pratyakṣaṃ kalpanāpoḍham abhrāntam* is called Sautrāntika.[1] Sthiramati himself in the commentary on the Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi alludes to the fact that there were many Vijñānavāda schools,[2] while Kuei Chi, the famous commentator of the Vijñaptimātratā in Chinese shows a great ingenuity in trying to combine the various interpretations of many fundamental points of the doctrine. Therefore, even if the Laṅkāvatāra was accepted as a fundamental text by the later Yogācāras, that does not necessarily imply that the ideas expounded there are true Yogācāra ideas. We cannot say anything very precisely until the enormous literature preserved, chiefly in Chinese and Tibetan, has been carefully and historically explored. Anyhow, the dogmatical structure of the Laṅkāvatāra appears to me as very akin to that of the Prajñāpāramitā or of the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka. The chief tenet expounded in it is just the *anutpādaḥ sarvadharmāṇām* and the *niḥsvabhāvaḥ sarvadharmāṇām*, that are the main teaching of the Prajñā as well as of the Nāgārjuna school. There is even an allusion to the *prasaṅga* method which is peculiar to the latter and which was developed by Candrakīrti. I refer to the passage at p. 166, in which it is said that the Bodhisattva must not state any proposition, *pratijñā*, not even in order to assert that everything is unreal, because the formulation of this thesis represents a contradiction to the thesis itself. Moreover, the *ekayāna* theory as opposed to the three *yānas* is clearly alluded to in the book, nor do we find those classifications of the various dharmas that represent the peculiar aspect of the dogmatical works of Asaṅga and Vasubandhu and which, as I said, are strictly related to the dogmatics of the Sautrāntikas.

Although the ultimate reality is reduced only to the *Vijñāna*, still there are some passages which show *matabheda* as regards the posterior *Vijñapti* theory; thus while for Vasubandhu the *pariṇāma* of the *Vijñāna* is somehow existent, and therefore object of discussion, for

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1 Nyāyabinduṭīkāṭippaṇī, Bibliotheca Buddhica ed., p. 19. As I have shown in my paper on Pre-Diṅnāga Buddhist Logic, the definition cannot be attributed to Dharmakīrti as it was already formulated by Asaṅga.

2 Ed. by Sylvain Lévi, p. 19. Nor shall we forget that the Laṅk. is very often quoted as a canonical book by authors belonging to the pure Mādhyamika current, and who, at least dogmatically, are opposed to the Yogācāras, such as Candrakīrti, Śāntideva, etc.

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the Laṅkāvatāra the *pariṇāma* is purely illusory; nothing exists which can be defined, nor is any definition possible; this is a thesis which is in contrast with the *Vijñaptivāda*, that was called also *Lakṣaṇavāda*.

cittaṃ manas ca vijñānaṃ lakṣaṇārthaṃ prakalpyate/
abhinnalakṣaṇā hy aṣṭau na lakṣyā na ca lakṣaṇam//
udadheś ca taraṅgāṇāṃ yathā nāsti viśeṣaṇam/
vijñānaṃ tathā citteḥ pariṇāmo na labhyate// (p. 46).

There are also some passages in which the *Vijñapti* theory seems to be rejected.

vijñaptir nāmamātreyaṃ lakṣaṇena na vidyate/ (p. 96)

na svabhāvo na vijñaptir na vastu na cālayaḥ/
balair vikalpitā hy ete śavabhūtaiḥ kutarkikaiḥ// (p. 167)

nimittaṃ vastu vijñaptiṃ manovispanditaṃ ca tat/ (p. 168)

In general the position of the author or rather of the authors of the Laṅkāvatāra is that of the *nirvikalpa*, the *samatā* of *bhāva* and *abhāva*. For Vasubandhu the interruption of the *vikalpas* represents the absorption into the *cittamātratā*, the pure thought, without any object being thought of, while for the Laṅk. the supreme truth is attained through an *excessus mentis*, as it were, which follows the intuition that whatever is considered as existent is a mere reflection of our mind *svacittadṛśyamātra*.

For Sthiramati (p. 15) the suppression of the hindrances that prevent us from the right knowledge of the knowable, *jñeya*, coincides with the omniscience; *tasmin (jñeyāvaraṇe) prahīṇe sarvākāre jñeye 'saktam apratihataṃ ca jñānaṃ pravartata ity ataḥ sarvajñatvam adhigamyate*; but for the Laṅk. (p. 170) the necessary condition for that *excessus mentis*, already referred to, is the suppression of either notion, viz. of the knowable and of the knower and the absence of any consciousness whatever (*jñānasyāpy anupalabdhiḥ*).

There is a passage in the Laṅkāvatāra which is of the greatest interest, as it contains an allusion to the doctrine of Vasubandhu. This passage runs as follows (p. 169); *yat punar idam uktaṃ bhagavatā yadā tv ālambyam arthaṃ nopalabhate jñānam, tadā vijñaptimātravyavasthānaṃ bhavati, vijñapter grāhyābhāvād grāhakasyāpy agrahaṇaṃ bhavati*. Now this sentence is nothing else than a verse of the Triṃśikā (28) of Vasubandhu:

yadā tv ālambanaṃ vijñānaṃ naivopalabhate tadā/
sthitaṃ vijñanāmātratve grāhyābhāve tad agrahāt//

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formulated by Diṅnāga is called *Yogācāra*, while that of *Dharmakīrti*, *pratyakṣaṃ kalpanāpoḍham abhrāntam* is called Sautrāntika.[1] Sthiramati himself in the commentary on the Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi alludes to the fact that there were many Vijñānavāda schools,[2] while Kuei Chi, the famous commentator of the Vijñaptimātratā in Chinese shows a great ingenuity in trying to combine the various interpretations of many fundamental points of the doctrine. Therefore, even if the Laṅkāvatāra was accepted as a fundamental text by the later Yogācāras, that does not necessarily imply that the ideas expounded there are true Yogācāra ideas. We cannot say anything very precisely until the enormous literature preserved, chiefly in Chinese and Tibetan, has been carefully and historically explored. Anyhow, the dogmatical structure of the Laṅkāvatāra appears to me as very akin to that of the Prajñāpāramitā or of the Saddharmapuṇḍarika. The chief tenet expounded in it is just the *anutpādaḥ sarvadharmāṇām* and the *niḥsvabhāvaḥ sarvadharmāṇām*, that are the main teaching of the Prajñā as well as of the Nāgārjuna school. There is even an allusion to the *prasaṅga* method which is peculiar to the latter and which was developed by Candrakīrti. I refer to the passage at p. 166, in which it is said that the Bodhisattva must not state any proposition, *pratijñā*, not even in order to assert that everything is unreal, because the formulation of this thesis represents a contradiction to the thesis itself. Moreover, the *ekayāna* theory as opposed to the three *yānas* is clearly alluded to in the book, nor do we find those classifications of the various dharmas that represent the peculiar aspect of the dogmatical works of Asaṅga and Vasubandhu and which, as I said, are strictly related to the dogmatics of the Sautrāntikas.

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In general the position of the author or rather of the authors of the Laṅkāvatāra is that of the *nirvikalpa*, the *samatā* of *bhāva* and *abhāva*. For Vasubandhu the interruption of the *vikalpas* represents the absorption into the *cittamātratā*, the pure thought, without any object being thought of, while for the Laṅk. the supreme truth is attained through an *excessus mentis*, as it were, which follows the intuition that whatever is considered as existent is a mere reflection of our mind *svacittadṛśyamātra*.

For Sthiramati (p. 15) the suppression of the hindrances that prevent us from the right knowledge of the knowable, *jñeya*, coincides with the omniscience; *tasmin (jñeyāvaraṇe) prahīṇe sarvākāre jñeye 'saktam apratihataṃ ca jñānaṃ pravartata ity ataḥ sarvajñatvam adhigamyate*; but for the Laṅk. (p. 170) the necessary condition for that *excessus*, *mentis*, already referred to, is the suppression of either notion, viz. of the knowable and of the knower and the absence of any consciousness whatever (*jñānasyāpy anupalabdhiḥ*).

There is a passage in the Laṅkāvatāra which is of the greatest interest, as it contains an allusion to the doctrine of Vasubandhu. This passage runs as follows (p. 169); *yat punar idam uktaṃ bhagavatā yadā tv ālambyam arthaṃ nopalabhate jñānam, tadā vijñaptimātravyavasthānaṃ bhavati, vijñapter grāhyābhāvād grāhakasyāpy agrahaṇaṃ bhavati*. Now this sentence is nothing else than a verse of the Triṃśikā (28) of Vasubandhu:

yadā tv ālambanaṃ vijñānaṃ naivopalabhate tadā|
sthitaṃ vijñanāmātratve grāhyābhāve tad agrahāt||

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but the interpretation, that the Buddha himself is supposed to give of this passage in the Laṅk., is different, as I already pointed out, from that proposed by Sthiramati. There is no doubt that we have here two redactions of the same passage. The fact that the Laṅk. polemizes against an interpretation of the sentence akin to that propounded by Sthiramati, seems to exclude that Vasubandhu quotes from the Laṅk. Then we can assume either that the Laṅk., as well as Vasubandhu refer to a previous text, or that the Laṅka. is refuting the notion of the *Vijñapti*, as maintained by the new school, asserting once more its own mystical idealism. I think that this second hypothesis is more probable. In fact, the passage in question is to be found only in the most ancient translation of the Laṅk., which was made not very much after the time of Vasubandhu. But the reading of the text in the other two translations is different, nor does it show any analogy with the Kārikā of Vasubandhu. This fact is very significant, and it seems to show that when the *Vijñapti* theory met with an almost general acceptance, and the Laṅk. was considered as an authoritative book by the Yogācāras, the passage alluded to in the original redaction and pointing at Vasubandhu's School was altered in order to comply with the new tendencies of the Sect. The passage in question is so rendered in the two last Chinese translations:

(*a*) (Bodhiruci) The Blessed one said: "(when) the knowledge, enquires (parīkṣ) [but] cannot distinguish the dharma that previously represented its sphere of action (*gocara*), then realises (lit. well knows) that there is only the internal mind. Then the *manas* and the *manovijñāna* are understood according to their real nature, and no dharma exists which can be perceived nor any perceiver. Therefore the knowledge cannot create any subjective construction (vikalpa), nor does it perceive any object." The passage, that in the Sanskrit text occurs again at p. 170, l. 9, is not found here, although, so far as the reply is concerned, there is agreement between the two texts.

(*b*) (Śikṣānanda) "The Blessed one said: If it is known that the objects are only a false denomination (*prajñapti*) and cannot be perceived, then there is no more the perceived. If the perceived is no more, the perceiver also does not exist. Then, since the preceived as well as the perceiver do not exist, the constructions of mind (vikalpa) do not arise. This is called knowledge." (Passage at p. 170 wanting). In this connection it is also interesting to note that while in the last chapter (*sagāthaka*), which is evidently a later addition, the word vijñapti occurs rather often and without any trace of

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criticism, in the other chapters it can be found only 5 times (pp. 65, 75, 96, 168, 170). We have already seen that at pp. 168 and 170 there is discrepancy in the texts.[1] At p. 65, instead of *vijñapti*, which has two usual equivalents in Chinese, we find: Guṇabhadra and Bodhiruci: *teaching*, Śikṣānanda: *grāha*. The verse at p. 75 in which the word *vijñapti* occurs again, is neither in Guṇabhadra, nor in Śikṣānanda. Bodhiruci reads: "are not assumed (the character can correspond to *vijñāna* as well as to *vijñapti*) and perceived by the *manas*." At p. 96, *vijñapti* is only in Bodhiruci. These facts, few as they are, have still their importance. At least, they are such as to support my hypothesis that the Laṅkāvatāra like the Śraddhotpāda, the Saṃdhinirmocana, etc. although accepted later on by the Yogācāra school, as systematised by Asaṅga and Vasubandhu in the very beginning, held views akin to those expounded in the literature of the Prajñā and the school of Nāgārjuna.

II

In the second paper, Prof. Hauer has drawn the attention of the scholars to the chapter on the *dhāraṇīs*, included in the Laṅkāvatāra. From the fact that it is wanting in the first Chinese translation, he infers that it must have been added between 443 and 513 A.D., and that therefore we must conclude that just at that time the Tāntric elements were introduced into Buddhism. But, as we shall see later on, the *dhāraṇīs* must not be considered to be the same as the *mantras*, so characteristic of the Tāntric literature. Moreover, it may be that the manuscript used by Guṇabhadra was a defective one or that it represented a different redaction. I do not want to discuss here the problem of the origin of these *dhāraṇīs*, which is a very difficult one, but I must say that the *dhāraṇīs* are referred to in the Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra of Nāgārjuna and the chapter on the *dhāraṇīs* included in the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka can be found in the translation made by Kumārajīva in the beginning of the fifth century A.D. Prof. Hauer is quite right when he says that we must distinguish two fundamental uses of the *dhāraṇīs*. First of all, the *dhāraṇī* seems to have been a help to meditation; this is the meaning that is attributed to the *dhāraṇīs* in the first chapter of the Mahā-

1 For *vijñapti* of pp. 167 and 168 the Chinese translations suppose (a) words and *prajñapti* (b) *vijñapti* or *vijñāna* and *prajñapti* (c) words and *prajñapti*.

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sannipāta.[1] The other use of the *dhāraṇī* is that of a magic formula. It is evident that in the chapter of the Laṅkāvatāra referred to, as well as in the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka they have chiefly the value of magical formulæ. In fact, the magical meaning takes little by little the upperhand and it becomes the peculiar characteristic of these *dhāraṇīs*.

Therefore, I do not think that there is a real connection between the *dhāraṇī* of the Buddhists and the *dhāraṇā* of the Yoga as a process of the meditation; *dhāraṇā* is in fact strictly connected with the *prāṇāyāma*. According to the definition of the Gorakṣapaddhati it consists of 12 pratyāhāras (viz., 144 *prāṇāyāmas*),[2] while so far as we know such a connection cannot be found as regards the dhāraṇīs.

Prof. Hauer discusses the various aspects of the *dhāraṇīs*, its repetition (*japa*), etc. He interprets, in other words, the *dhāraṇī* as *mantra* and he shows some of the fundamental aspects of it, basing himself chiefly on the Śaiva Tāntric literature, and on the Principles of Tantras translated by Avalon. As a matter of fact, I think, that to some extent at least, we can explain some aspects of later Buddhist religiosity on the light of Tāntric literature, which is derived from some spiritual tendencies and notions which are very similar to those that found their expression in the last phases of the Mahāyāna Buddhism. As I shall show in a forthcoming paper, there are many Tantras, still current in India which have been now adapted to Hindu ideas, while their original, still preserved in Chinese and Tibetan translations, was undoubtedly Buddhist. But, in the actual case, we cannot interpret the *dhāraṇīs* as *mantras*. A *dhāraṇī*, whatever may have been its original connection with the process of meditation, is chiefly a *rakṣā*, a protection, a formula which as soon as it is recited dispels the bad influences (*na tasya kaścid avatāraṃ lapsyate*; Laṅk., p. 261). Perhaps they were written and brought as a talisman; hence the word *dhārayiṣyati* could be quite well interpreted literally. On this principle is based in fact that bibliolatry that we find in Mahāyāna Buddhism as well as in Tāntrism.

On the other hand, the *mantras* or *vidyās* (according to the Tantras there is only a formal difference between a *mantra* and a *vidyā*), are used in some particular cases only, chiefly in two; in the *pūjās* and in those ceremonies performed in order to obtain a certain result and which

1 Mahāsannipāta, Tāisho ed., vol. xiii pp. 22 ff.

2 Gorakṣapaddhati (Bombay ed.), pp. 68.

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constitute the so-called six *karmas*[1] of the magic texts such as the *Uḍḍīśatantra* the *Kriyoḍḍīśatantra*, the *Kāmaratnatantra*, etc. We know that a *mantra* is useless or even harmful when it is used without observing the proper rules (*krama*, *samaya*, *vidhi*, *kalpa*); or by a man who has not received the proper initiation, *dīkṣā*. *Mantrāsiddhiṃ na gacchanti yatnenāpy anekadā* (sic) *samayaprayogahīnā* [?] *Śakrasyāpi prayatnataḥ*.[2] On the other hand, no restriction of this kind can be found as regards the *dhāraṇīs*, from which the magic power derives, as it were, necessarily. Moreover, as a general rule, the *mantras* must be preceded by the syllable *om* without which they cannot be efficacious: *śravaty anoṃkṛtaṃ pūrvaṃ parastāc ca viśīryate*, as the Kālikāpūraṇa says, and in almost every case they contain the name of a divinity in the dative or in the vocative case, to which some mystic words follow. These words are chiefly monosyllabic as *krīṃ hrīṃ*, *huṃ*, *phaṭ*, and a special meaning is attached to them as explained in the Tāntric manuals. But of course this meaning is purely conventional, and it may vary according to the different schools. An example of *mantra* is this: *Oṃ sarvavikalpanāśini nāśaya, nāśaya sarvaduṣṭaprayuktaṃ samayam anusmara huṃ jaḥ svāhā*. (Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa, I, p. 109).

Oṃ huṃ huṃ mahāsiṃhāya Herambasārāya namaḥ (*āsanamantra* in the pūjā of Heramba, Bṛhattantrasāra, Vasumatī edition, p. 117.

On the other hand, as an example of the *dhāraṇī* we may refer to the chapter of the Laṅkāvatāra translated by Prof. Hauer. The difference will appear manifest to those who compared either type of the formulæ.

In the Laṅk. as well as in the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka we have, it is true, the expression *dhāraṇīmantrapadāni*, but I do think that we must understand this sentence only as; "the formulæ of the *dhāraṇīs*."[3] That is, *mantra* has not yet acquired that technical sense that it already possesses in the Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa. We may add that in the Tāntric literature of Buddhism, so far as my experience goes, we have no more *dhāraṇīs*, but *mantras* only, that is the *dhāraṇīs* little by little disappear and are replaced by the *mantras*. It is rather interest-

1 Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa, I, p. 36. Prof. H. does not know the article by prof Przyluski in BEFEO.

2 It can be found also in the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa, I, although not yet classified.

3 That is, a *dhāraṇī* is composed of many elementary formulæ which are called *mantras*.

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ing to note that in the present vulgata of the Saddharmapuṇḍarika all the *dhāraṇīs* end with *svāhā*, that is they are considered as *vidyās*. This is quite in accordance with the rules as laid down in the Tantras which tell us that a *mantra* must end with one of the following words: *huṃ, phaṭ, svāhā, namaḥ*. According as a *mantra* is concluded by the first two syllables or the third or the fourth, it is called masculine, feminine, and neuter.

Mantrāḥ puṃdevatā jñeyā vidyāḥ strīdevatā smṛtāḥ|
puṃstrīnapuṃsakātmāno mantṛāḥ sarve samīritāḥ||
puṃmantrā huṃphaḍantāḥ syūr dviṭhāntāś ca striyo matāḥ|
napuṃsakā namo 'ntaḥ syūr ityuktā manavas tridhā||

(Śāradātilaka, Calcutta ed., 2nd paṭala, 57-58).

Now if we take either the translation of Kumārajīva or that of Jinagupta and Dharmagupta, in which the *dhāraṇīs* have been translated into Chinese, we do not find any trace of the mystic syllable *svāhā*. The meaning of this fact may be that up to the time of the last translation of the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka the doctrine of the *mantras* had not yet received a general acceptance among the various Buddhist schools. I say 'general acceptance,' because the syllable *svāhā* is in the second as well as in the third translation of the Laṅkāvatāra. In this book, in the first *dhāraṇī*, we find many of those syllabic sounds which are characteristics of the mantras: *ṭu, ḍu, ṛu, phu*, that are quite different from the other words that occur in the *dhāraṇī* itself. We may add, in order to insist on the initial difference between the *dhāraṇīs* and the *mantras*, that while the syllables of these have only a conventional meaning which is known to the initiated, but they look as meaningless to those who are not initiated, each word included in the *dhāraṇīs*, can, as a rule, be easily identified, though no apparent logical connection is to be discovered among them. Moreover, some of these words seem to have been Prākṛtic more than Sanskrit. Nor shall we forget that they may have been largely altered by the manuscript tradition. This will be easily understood when we remember that these texts were not always intelligible to the copyists. In any case it is rather interesting to note that in the 4th century A.D., Dharmarakṣa translated the *dhāraṇīs* of the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka instead of merely transliterating them, as his successors did.

For all the reasons that I have briefly stated here, I think that *dhāraṇīs* and *mantras* are different and that therefore we cannot interpret them on the light of the Tāntric *mantras*.

GIUSEPPE TUCCI

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MISCELLANY

An internal evidence for determining the time of the later redactions of the Suśrutasaṁhitā

It is already known that the great Ayurvedic treatise Suśrutasaṃhitā underwent redaction by Nāgārjuna who lived in the latter part of the fourth century B.C. (Rājataraṅgiṇī, I, 172-3) or in the first quarter of the third century B.C. (Beal's Buddhist Records of the Western World, II, p. 212). There are a few astronomical facts in the work which not only lead us to the conclusion that at least two redactions were made after Nāgārjuna, but also allow us to calculate the time, at least approximately, when such revisions took place.

In sūtrasthāna, 6th adhyāya, we have :

Tatra māghādaya dvādaśa māsā dvimāsikam ṛtuṃ kṛtvā ṣaḍ ṛtavo bhavanti. Te śiśiravasanta-grīṣma-varṣā-śaraddhemantāḥ. Teṣāṃ tapastapasyau śiśiraḥ. Madhumādhavau vasantaḥ. Śuciśukrau grīṣmaḥ. Nabhonabhasyau varṣāḥ. Īśorjjau śarat. Sahaḥsahasyau hemanta iti..... Ayane dve bhavato dakṣiṇam uttarañ ca. Tayor dakṣiṇaṃ varṣāśaraddhemantāḥ..... ..uttarañ ca śiśiravasantagrīṣmāḥ.....

Thus (there are) twelve months, Māgha and others ; (there are) six seasons, two months making a season. They are—winter, spring, summer, rainy season, autumn and *hemanta*. *Tapas* (Māgha) and *Tapasya* (Phālguna) (form) winter, *Madhu* (Caitra) and *Mādhava* (Vaiśākha) (make) spring, *Śuci* (Jyaiṣṭha) and *Śukra* (Āṣāḍha) (make) summer, *Nabhas* (Śrāvaṇa) and *Nabhasya* (Bhādra) (make) rainy season, *Īśa* (Āśvina) and *Ūrjja* (Kārtika) (make) autumn, *Sahas* (Agrahāyaṇa) and *Sahasya* (Pauṣa) (make) *hemanta*. There are two *ayanas*, *dakṣiṇa* (southward progression of the sun) and *uttara* (northward progression of the sun). Rainy season, autumn and *hemanta* (coincide with) *dakṣiṇāyana*. Winter, spring and summer (coincide with) *uttarāyana*.

Further down, in the same chapter, we have :

Iha tu varṣāśaraddhemantavasantagrīṣmaprāvṛṣaṃ ṣaḍ ṛtavo bhavanti.....Te tu bhādrapadādyena dvimāsikena vyākhyātāḥ. Tad yathā bhādrapadāśvayujau varṣāḥ kārtikamārgaśīrṣau śarat pauṣamāghau hemantaḥ phālgunacaitrau vasantaḥ vaiśakhajyaiṣṭhau grīṣmaḥ āṣāḍhaśrāvaṇau prāvṛḍ iti.

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But now the seasons are rainy season, autumn, *hemanta*, spring, summer and *prāvṛṭ*. They are to be counted from the beginning of the *Bhādrapada* which with Āśvina (make) rainy season, *Kārtika* and *Agrahāyaṇa* (make) autumn, *Pauṣa* and *Māgha* (make) *hemanta*, *Phālguna* and *Caitra* (make) spring, *Vaiśākha* and *Jyaiṣṭha* (make) summer, Āṣāḍha and Śrāvaṇa (make) prāvṛṭ.

We take the first passage first. The northward progression of the sun is said to have been occurring during the six months, from Māgha to Āṣāḍha. As the month of Āṣāḍha corresponded to the second half of the summer season, the summer solstice must have been occurring thereabout. Similarly, the winter solstice must have been taking place some time between the months of Māgha and phālguna. Hence, by the northward passage of the sun (uttarāyaṇa) we must mean the passage of the sun from the winter solstice to summer solstice, and not from one equinox to another.

Now it is distinctly mentioned that the northward progress of the sun ceases at the end of the summer, that is, at the end of the month of Āṣāḍha. Hence the summer solstice must have been taking place at the end of the month of Āṣāḍha. At present the summer solstice occurs on the 8th or 9th of Āṣāḍha which roughly corresponds to the 21st day of July. Hence we find that at the period referred to in Suśruta, the summer solstice was occurring (30—8, or) 20 days later than it is now.

Twenty days of a month approximately correspond to an arc of

$$\frac{360 \times 20^\circ}{365{\cdot}25} \text{ or } 19^\circ{\cdot}71.$$

Hence the summer solstice has receded 19°·71 from its place at the time mentioned in the present passage. Taking the period of 25,868 years for a complete revolution of the precession of the equinoxes, we see that 19°·71 will be covered by about 1410 years.

Hence the present calculation brings us back to the year 1928—1410 or 518 A.C. approximately, that is, to the first quarter of the sixth century A.C. This period certainly refers to one of the later redactions of the original work.

Coming to the second passage, we find that Vaiśākha and Jyaiṣṭha now make up the summer season, that is, the summer has receded one month. As there is no mention of the position of the summer solstice, we can only vaguely note that the latter must be somewhere in the month of Jyaiṣṭha ; but we know it is occurring in the beginning of Āṣāḍha. Such a discrepancy can only be accounted for if we

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take it to be a very rough idea on the part of the redactor, who did not want to make the summer season correspond with portions of three months (part of *Āṣāḍha*, *Jyaiṣṭha*, and part of *Vaiśākha*) but with two full months (*Jyaiṣṭha* and *Vaiśākha*) evidently for convenience. In such a case the redaction must have been made very late and near the present time.

EKENDRA NATH GHOSH

Society for Buddhist Lore (Gesellschaft für Buddhismus Kunde) founded at Heidelberg

I am glad to give some details about the said Society, not so much in the hope of evoking some interest in the effective work done or to be done by it, as with the intention of raising a question and of giving a definite answer to it—besides the answer given already by the founding of the society itself.

The question is this. Presuming that Buddhism is (what nobody will earnestly deny) not only a cultural movement of the deepest influences on the life of more than two thousand years and on the moral as well as spiritual development of the greater part of Asia, but that even to-day it is vigorous enough to stir the attention of the most advanced spirits in the old and in the new world, one may ponder over the problem : how is it to be explained that an aspect of life, professed in a rather popular and almost illogical style, could win over not only the hearts of millions of simple people without shedding a drop of blood, but also subjugate the most refined representatives of old and civilised cultures (the Indian and Chinese ones) under the sway of its idea,—yea, which even to-day puts the most advanced Western philosophy and science to the necessity of defending their arguments and consequences against the inexplorable results of its logic and epistemology. Of course, the struggle is not, in its proper sense, between Christ and Buddha—one might rather think that the thoughts of these two most spiritual representatives of mankind moved, at least for the ethical and practical view of life, in the same direction—but between the deeper spiritual instincts by which they were instigated and led. And this chief difference or even antagonism lay, as it seems to me, in that the one—Buddha—is the first great expounder of the sovereignty and independence of human

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mind, while the other was the most prominent herald of human dependence on transcendental forces. As in all generalisations, there may be a certain one-sidedness and exaggeration in such an anti-thesis, the more so, as the theoretical side of the problem was rather far from both of them, but if we are induced to circumscribe a very complicated matter by a single word, I really do not see how to do it in another way.

Now, let us take it for granted that we can understand these two powerful streams of spiritual development by the supposition of two antagonistic tendencies of the kind mentioned above, and we shall concede that, if the principle of the "want of supposition" or "Voraussetzungslosigkeit" has been carried to its highest pitch and its ultimate consequences by Buddhism, we shall have all inducements to search in the development of these unrestrained doctrines—unrestrained in so far as they are not regulated by the regard for a transhuman essence or power—for the last consequences of pure human mind. In other words, if really Buddhism continued to adhere to the words of its Master who had preached the sovereignty and independence of human mind in the most impressive manner, it must in the course of its inner development have attained those limits which to independent human mind it is allowed to reach. And I am convinced, it has,—not in the purport that Buddha himself would have had an insight into all the logical outcomes of his principle of independence, but rather in that the most clever of his followers and successors were driven by the logic of facts to certain results which were not to be outstripped but by breaking with the principle of "Voraussetzungslosigkeit" itself. I dare not assert that this point has ever been reached in the history of spiritual Buddhism (although I should understand if any one did in view of the fact that Buddhism has succumbed in India itself to the stronger might of Brāhmaṇic revelation), but I only repeat: if ever in the world the last and ultimate consequences of the autonomous human faculty of mind have been drawn, it must have been in the huge philosophical, logical and epistemological literature of Buddhism, especially of later Indian Buddhism, which flourished in the last centuries before the rise of Śaṅkara and Kumārila.

This vast literature has for the most part been lost. What has not been destroyed in these struggles got astray during the bloody invasions of Mahomedanism and in the prodigious exuberance of the literary activity on the side of the Brāhmaṇical systems.

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But a very few documents of those last but, in their subtlety, admirable achievements of Buddhist acuteness have survived in India itself (as e.g., Śāntirakṣita's Tattva-saṃgraha with Kamalaśīla's commentary which has recently appeared in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series) in their original Sanskrit garb ; almost the whole of it has been preserved to posterity only in Chinese and Tibetan translation, and even the few original Sanskrit texts, which have been transmitted to us, would scarcely be quite intelligible, had we not in their translation into those foreign languages the means of correcting the errors which have crept into the manuscriptural tradition. Thus it will be clear that the study of Sanskrit must be supplemented by that of, at least, Tibetan and Chinese, if the scientific exigencies are to be supplied as to the exploration of those venerable documents of the most acute thinkers whom, perhaps, the world has ever seen.

Now, a lot of work has been done already in the direction of reconstruction of the ideas and arguments of those ancient philosophers. It may be permissible to mention the names of L. de la Vallée Poussin, F. Stcherbatsky, G. Tucci, and the splendid work done by these and other pioneers in the vast field of later Sanskrit Buddhist literature. But there is still a lot of work left to be done, and I hope, the author of this short article will be pardoned, if he implores the help of all those who are interested in this task of combining Sanskrit, Tibetan and Chinese philology to assist anyhow the exertions of those savants who, as workers in one or other of the aforesaid ranges of Buddhist literature, will in the first line bear the burden of editing and translating those texts which will contribute to a more exact knowledge of the philosophical aims of expiring Buddhism on the Indian soil. But herewith the work is not done: not only the older strata of Buddhist thought, delivered to us chiefly in the Abhidharma of the northern schools will have to be earnestly searched through, but also the commencements and even later developments of Buddhism in China and Tibet (to name only the most important domains) are of the utmost importance for the reconstruction of that state of cultural and scientific development which Buddhism has reached in India and which may be considered to be its purest manifestation.

Now, this task is the one which the "Gesellschaft für Buddhismus Kunde" should like to promote. And this in three ways :

First, an Institute for research has been established, by presenting to the student and scholar a locality where he can compare at ease

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the different collections in which the Chinese, Tibetan and Indian Buddhist literature is available. As to the latter, the editions of the Pali Text Society are at hand together with the Ceylonese and Siamese editions of the Pali commentaries (the latter, a present from the late king of Siam and other members of the royal family to the author of this note). Besides, a number of manuscript-copies of almost all the existing Sanskrit Mahāyāna Sūtras are at hand together with the editions of the Bibliotheca Buddhica (Leningrad), as well as the bibliographical and encyclopædic material which is indispensable for philological work in those different languages.

Secondly, for publishing the scientific work which may be expected either from the members of the Society who will take the opportunity of studying in the Institute or from foreign members; a "Year-book" will supply the most urging wants. It is to be hoped that also Chinese letters can be used, although in a limited number.

Thirdly, an attempt will be made to introduce a certain formal correspondence in the scientific work by the permanent superintendence or rather mutual assistance given by the members of the Institute. If it is scarcely to be presumed that one single scholar will be fully conversant with the different idioms in which the Buddhist literature presents itself, in a degree that he will have an accomplished mastership of all the difficulties ever ready to rise, it will not be thought deprecatory for anyone of the collaborators to consult a worker in a neighbouring field who himself in other questions and respects may be dependent on a third. In every case, the task is generally of such a complicated kind that with the *consensus omnium* which we demand and pray for, the ordinary and usual method of scientific work, which elsewhere requires the entire responsibility from the single worker, will be supplanted by another which, in the main, lays the ultimate responsibility on the editor, without depriving the special worker of the care consisting in the legitimate liability to do his best in order to bring the object of his endeavours and exertions to its highest accomplishment. So, the Society will reckon it an honour, as well as a pleasure, to invite cordially the collaboration and assistance on the part of all those who think highly of the performances and attainments of Buddhist philosophy as to require for it a special kind of treatment and, consequently, a special kind of workmanship.

The Rules of the Society may be had on application to the Society at Heidelberg, Goethestr. 12. The annual subscription for

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which the Year-book will be delivered post free has been fixed at 12 marks (12s.) to be paid in on the account of the Society at the Rheinische Creditbank Filiale Heidelberg.

M. WALLESER

Progress in South Indian Epigraphy

The recent publication of the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for the year ending March, 1927, is marked by a large quantity of sound and unpretentious work done both in the matter of the detailed epigraphical survey of the various localities of the Presidency and in that of the deciphering of inscriptions. The most notable event of the year's activity was the discovery, at Nāgārjunikonda in the Guntur District, of more Brāhmī inscriptions of the early Ikhāku dynasty of chiefs, of whom three generations of kings of the 3rd century A. C. have been brought to light by the epigraphs secured in the previous year. The place has proved rich in Buddhist remains, *caitya*-halls, *vihāras* and *stūpas*. The *Nallarāḷḷabōdu* mound contains the ruins of a *vihāra* and an apsidal temple (cetiya-gṛha) with a Brāhmī inscription on its stone pavement. By its side is a huge circular *stūpa* of brick work, now known as *Ūbagutta* (the owl-mound) consisting of 24 cells built with brick walls and arranged in two concentric circles and filled up with earth. The marble pillars planted at the four cardinal points of the *stūpa*, now fallen down mostly, have got inscriptions on them in Prakrit and Brāhmī, mostly of the time of Śrī Vīra Purisadata. There are other mounds with ruins of *caityas*, *stūpas* and monasteries.

The Relics of Nāgārjunikonda.

The name of the place suggests its possible connection with the great Buddhist teacher, Nāgārjuna, who "surrounded the great shrine of Dhānyakaṭaka with a railing." His supposed association with Śrīparvata in the Kurnool District which has, however, no Buddhist remains, is questioned in the Report, which says that it is reasonable to locate the monastery in which Nāgārjuna spent the last years of his life somewhere near Nāgārjunikonda itself; and "this surmise gains support from inscription No. 214 mentioned already, which refers to a number of structures built at Vijayapurī in Śrīparvata," indicating that the place was sacred to pilgrims from Kashmir, Gandhar, Vaṅga, Avaranta, Tambapanidvīpa, etc.

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The inscriptions of the place give us some details about the reign of king Purisadata, the son of Cāntamūla, of his wife and sister and of several clans connected with the royal family. One of them describes the Buddha himself as having been born in the family of the illustrious Ikhāku-Rājasiri and mentions Śrīparvata as being sacred to Buddhist missionaries propagating their faith in distant countries and also records the dedication in Vijayapurī on this range of hills of *caityas*, *taṭākas* and stone-maṇḍapas.

In the Nāgamalai hills in the Madura District, there was discovered a cavern, with narrow stone-beds cut into the rock on its floor and with Brāhmī labels incised on the pillow sides of three of them, recording the names of the Buddhist mendicants who occupied these beds in the 2nd or 3rd century B. C.

Brāhmī labels in Madura.

The *Hālāsya Mahātmya* has got stories of the allegorical reminiscences of the philosophical contests in which the Śaivas of Madura vanquished their Jaina and Bauddha opponents coming from the hill-retreats of Anaimalai, Nāgamalai and Pasumalai in the neighbourhood of Madura

The bulk of the Cola inscriptions collected during the year comes mainly from Tiruppurambiyam in the Tanjore District which enjoyed the continued patronage of the Cola monarchs for four centuries from the reign of Parāntaka I to that of Rājendra III and was closely associated with Gnānasambandha, besides being the site of a famous battle. Interesting is the temple of Mahādeva at Paṭṭīśvaram, evidently built over the mortal remains of Pañcavan Mahādevī, one of the five queens of Rājarāja I and termed a *paḷḷippaḍai* (a euphemism for a building raised over the remains of a deceased person). According to Mr. H. Krishna Sastri, epigraphical evidences have not been wanting as to Śiva temples having been erected on the very spot where important personages had been buried. Worship of portrait statues representing the dead is not also uncommon, the cult expanding itself from the offering of *piṇḍa* to the *śilāsthāpana* of the departed soul into doing homage to memorial-stones and portrait-statues. The practice of raising memorial temples did not seem to have been the exclusive privilege of the Royalty; and some great temples are believed to have been associated with the tombs of celebrated sages. The temple dedicated to the Sun and its tutelary deities at Sūrya-nārkoil in the Tanjore District owes its origin to Kulottuṅga I and possibly shows the influence of the Gahadvalas of Kanauj

Pallippaḍai Shrines.

Sun Temples.

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with whom the Colas had connections, religious and cultural. The Sūrya image is often mentioned in inscriptions of the Colas.

The worship of Śiva Ācāryas gained ground from the time of Rājarāja I, and the earliest reference to the works of Māṇikkavācaka is in the records of Vīrarājendra I.

Among the Pāṇḍya records examined in the year are mentioned in one the words *Anjuvaṇṇam* and *Maṇigrāmam*. The date of this record is the 15th (?) year of Jātavarman Vīra Pāṇḍya (*acc.* A.C. 1254) and is therefore 1269 A.C. The two terms are met with first in the Kottayam Christian charters at the end of the 9th century A.C. and have evoked a great deal of contr versy in interpretation. The Report says that there is nothing in the records themselves to indicate that the term *Maṇigrāmam* was used with especial reference to the Christians or was confined only to the west coast as suggested by some scholars. Naccinārkkiniyar's use of *Vaṇikgrāmam* (corporation of merchants) may explain the origin of the word. Possibly the word was the name of a merchant-guild of South India, membership to which might have been open to all merchants, irrespective of their religion and caste. In the west coast, trade was in the hands of Christian merchants for a long time. "The inference that they were originally Christians who had later on apostacised to the Hindu religion on account of the teachings of Māṇikkavācakar, or of Manes, or otherwise, appears to be erroneous. The lower status that is said to be accorded to them among their own co-religionists may have to be explained otherwise than by their reconversion from Christianity." Christian merchants bearing the name of Maṇi are possibly the descendants of ancestors who were members of the Maṇigrāmam corporation. The institution was not confined to the trading members of the coast towns only or to the west coast in particular. "It is possible that the Maṇigrāmam which figures in the Christian plates may have even been composed exclusively of Hindu merchants, or of a mixed *clientele* of Hindus and Christians, the latter having been granted privileges similar to those that had been enjoyed by trade-guilds of apparently Hindu origin."

Maṇigrāmam and Anjuvaṇṇam

Anjuvaṇṇam occurs in the above record, as well as in the famous Kottayam Plate. Venkayya considered it to be a semi-independent corporation : it has been interpreted to be a Tamilised form of *Anjumān* ; if so, that should be a corporation of foreign merchants (Arabs, likely).

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An inscription of Srivilliputtur (Ramnad District) of the later Pāṇḍyas mentions that the temples were asylums to the oppressed. Several similar Travancore records have been known to us.

Temple Sanctuaries.

There are a few records copied this year from the Coondapur Taluk of South Kanara District. They are interesting because they may possibly prove the connection between the Pāṇḍyas and the Alupa chiefs, two of whom bore the surname of Pāṇḍya. A detailed study of South Kanara inscriptions may yield much material that may throw light on the Alupa and the Uccaṅgi chiefs and on the relationship, if any, which they may have borne to the Tamil Pāṇḍyas of Madura.

The Alupas and the Pāṇḍyas.

Two of the Vijayanagara inscriptions of the year refer to Allasani Peddana, the famous court-poet of Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya to whom the king made some gifts at Bezwada. An inscription of Śaka 1262 (1340 A.C.) mentions Hosa-Hampeya Pattaṇa which is possibly the same as Hosapattaṇa, that appears in the inscriptions of the period as the headquarters of Bukka, one of the five brothers who founded the future empire of Vijayanagara.

An interesting record of Srivilliputtur, found in the Āṇḍaḷ Temple, purports to be the *praṇayapatrikā* sent by god Raṅganātha of Śrīraṅgam to Śrī Āṇḍaḷ; it contains a long preface wherein many expressions from the *Tiruppāvai* and the *Nācciyār Tirumoḷi* have been introduced so as to make a connected description of the yearning of the saint for her divine lover. The grant purports to have been made by god Raṅganātha, but in reality, by one of the later Bana chiefs of Madura (Śaka 1375), who consolidated their hold over the territory round about Madura when the Pāṇḍyas retreated further south into Tinnevelly early in the 15th century A.C. and who were ardent vaiṣṇavas.

A Praṇayapatrikā.

One record of the Tanjore Nāyakas dated about 1580 mentions the existence of a Buddha temple in the neighbourhood of Kumbhakonam in the village of Tiruvilandurai. The Leyden Grants refer to a Buddhist *Vihāra* at Negapatam in the 12th century and several Buddha images have been found in and about Kumbhakonam and the religion may have survived in a fugitive condition in the heart of the Tanjore district in the mediæval centuries. The Tanjore records mention *Aṭṭavaṇai-Raṅgappayyan*, the officer in charge of the purse

Buddhism in the period of the Tanjore Nāyakas.

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of Raghunātha Nāyaka (a character in the drama, *Raghunāthābhyudayanāṭakam*) and *Govinda Dikṣita*, the famous minister of Acyuta and Raghunātha who was an author of repute and whose statue is found in the Śiva temple at Pattiśvaram. Details of his life are given in the *Sāhityaratnākara* written by his son; and one of his own works is said to have been commented upon by Appayya Dikṣita.

Govinda Dikṣita.

C. S. SRINIVASACHARI

The Karpuramanjarī

In the above book, published in the Harvard Oriental Series, there are some points in section 8 of Prof. Konow's critical essay (pp. 199-204) on Rājaśekhara's knowledge of Prakrit which require further discussion.

In judging the author's knowledge of rules of grammar from different forms of words found in different Mss., the important fact we have to remember is that the Mss. are wholly unreliable, and on the authority of any such Ms. we cannot definitely say what was the form used by the author. All Mss. on which the Harv. Orient. ser. text was edited are acknowledged to be corrupt and mutilated. But there are certain words which are found to be alike in all Mss. and Prof. Konow has passed his judgement on Rājaśekhara's knowledge of Prakrit, assuming that these were actually the forms Rājaśekhara used.

One of such words is *laṭṭhī* in Śaurasenī for *yaṣṭi*. Now this change of *y* into *l* in *yaṣṭi* is permitted in Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit (cf. Vararuci, II, 32 and Hemacandra, I, 247). No grammarian except Mārkaṇḍeya has forbidden the extension of this change to Śaurasenī as well; but on Mārkaṇḍeya's authority Konow has held that Rājaśekhara made a mistake when he used *laṭṭhī* in Śaurasenī. In my opinion *yaṣṭi* and *laṭṭhī* have no connection with each other though both of them mean the same thing, 'stick'. *Laṭṭhī* is derived from *lakuṭa* which is as old as the *Āpastamba Śrautasūtra*, X, 27, 7 and *Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra*, 666, 6. The process of change has been thus: *lakuṭi* (=*lakuṭa* >*lakṭī* >*laṭṭī* >*laṭṭhi* (cf. *laguḍa* and *laguḍin*, and *nakulin*). Vararuci and Hemacandra found this word current and erroneously thought that it was derived from *yaṣṭi*.

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There is no evidence at all in Indo-Iranian phonetics for the change of *y* into *l*. The only instance mentioned by Louis H. Gray in the *Indo-Iranian Phonology*, *p. 110*, is of this very *yaṣṭi* and *laṭṭhī* which, as I have shown, is a wrong example. We may say, therefore, in defence of Rājaśekhara that he was not at all mistaken if he used *laṭṭhī* in Śaurasenī.

Konow holds that *majjhammi* and *kuharammi*, two instances of *-mmi* in *a*-themes used by Rājaśekhara as well as his use of *-hiṃto* in certain instances as the affix of the ablative singular are wrong on the authority respectively of Mārkaṇḍeya, VI, 4-5, and Mārkaṇḍeya's dictum "for the ablative singular only the affix *do* is substituted... In words ending in *-a* sometimes *ā* is substituted." Again the use of *esa* in three places by Rājaśekhara in the nominative singular masculine of pronoun *etad* has been objected to by Konow on the authority of Mārkaṇḍeya's rule permitting only *eso* ; Rājaśekhara's use of *dhātvādeśa*, *muṇ=jñā* in prose has also been questioned. It may be pointed out with reference to all these that in these instances we do not know if the forms given in different Mss. were also the forms used by Rājaśekhara. Even granting that they were used, it may be pointed out that these forms are allowed in Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit (cf. Vararuci, V, 9 ; V, 7 ; VII, 23 ; and Hemacandra, III, 9 ; III, 11). No Grammarian moreover has expressly forbidden the extension of these forms to Śaurasenī.

The standard with which Konow has measured Rājaśekhara's Prakrit is Mārkaṇḍeya's grammar and he has not given that importance to earlier grammarians that they deserved. The important question that arises, therefore, is whether Mārkaṇḍeya's authority is to be regarded as superior to other grammarians in judging Rājaśekhara's knowledge of Prakrit and especially of Śaurasenī usages. Mārkaṇḍeya Kavindra was an inhabitant of Orissa which was far removed from the Śaurasenī territory and he wrote his grammar as late as in the seventeenth century. On the other hand Hemacandra lived in Gujarat which was nearer to the Śaurasenī area and he flourished in 1088-1172 A.C. It can safely be inferred therefore that Hemacandra's rules applied to both Māhārāṣṭrī and Śaurasenī forms when he wrote his grammar, unless special exceptions were noted anywhere. In the absence of any such exclusive rule for one form only either permissive or prohibitive, it is to be understood that Hemacandra incorporated in his work usages current in his time. Konow is of opinion that the Prakrit of Somadeva, the author of *Lalitavigraharājanāṭaka*

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is correct because he was familiar with the eighth chapter of Hemacandra's grammar. Rājaśekhara wrote his drama in the ninth century and his Prakrit is nowhere inconsistent with Hemacandra's rules although Hemacandra wrote much later. Why then should Somadeva alone be singled out for writing correct Prakrit? Some usages current in Rājaśekhara's time would become rarer in Hemacandra's days and dead as stone when Mārkaṇḍeya collected his museum of fossilized Prakrit usages. Literary Prakrit had never been a living language and consequently things had become much more stereotyped, and variety of materials much less available in Mārkaṇḍeya's time than in the time of Hemacandra and Rājaśekhara certainly breathed an atmosphere of greater Prakritic variety and vitality than Mārkaṇḍeya did having preceded him by eight hundred years. It is more reasonable to conclude that forms used by Rājaśekhara were current in his days. The fact that Rājaśekhara's forms nowhere conflict with Hemacandra's rules, although Hemacandra followed him in point of time, shows that Hemacandra also found in currency those forms used by Rājaśekhara. Mārkaṇḍeya judged differently, because, coming much later as he did, he did not find those forms used in his time. It is also interesting to note that in his foreword to his grammar Mārkaṇḍeya mentions authorities to whom he is indebted but Hemacandra's name is conspicuous by its absence from this list.

There are some mistakes in Lanman's English Translation also.

At II, 13 *ahomuhapaṅkaa* has been translated as "shame-faced lotuses." "Turned upside down" would be a better adjective of lotuses here as the foot is often compared in Indian literature to an inverted lotus because the fingers resemble lotus petals.

At II, 30 *ke ke* has been translated as "what trees, what trees?" The reduplication is unnecessary as it would mean some excitement which the king did not feel here; it simply indicates plurality.

At II, 43 *kāmiṇīṇāṃ* has been translated as "a maiden *who is in love.*" The italicized clause is uncalled for, as the phenomenon of an *aśoka* tree bursting into blossom is said to take place at the touch of the feet of any maiden who need not necessarily be in love.

Two lines below the above, *edaṃ paccakkhaṃ karissaṃ* has been translated as "and let him witness the affairs with his own eyes." It should be "I shall witness it with my own eyes."

At II, 48 *kāmiṇīṇīṃ* has been translated as "doting matrons." The adjective is unnecessary.

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At III, 1 *kesara* has been translated as "the bakul" which no doubt is one of the flowers known by this name, of which the *nāga-kesara* in this case would be more appropriate, because of its slightly fleshy yellow tint.

At III, 3 *harasirovari diṇṇalīlāvāāe Gaṅgāe* has been translated as "then the Ganges put her graceful little feet on the head of Śiva." It should be "then the Ganges who has her graceful feet on the head of Śiva.

At IV, 19 "My child" would be a more dignified rendering of *vacche* than "my darling."

At p. 113, line 1 *suṭṭhudaraṃ bhullo si* has been translated as "You *have* lost your head." This is quite wrong and should be "Your mistake has been very appropriate."

AMULYA CHANDRA SEN

The Chronology of the Smṛtis

The Chronology of the Smṛtis, as establised by Bühler and Jolly, has hitherto been mainly accepted among the scholars; though, of course, a dissenting voice was, and still is, heard from time to time with regard to one or other particular work, yet the frame-work of the Chronology established by these scholars was never completely demolished. According to Bühler and Jolly, Gautamīya Dharma-sūtra, belonging to the Sāmaveda, is the oldest of the Smṛtis and is several centuries older than Āpastamba who is to be placed in the 5th or the 6th century B. C. Baudhāyana is older than Āpastamba but later than Gautama. Both Bühler and Jolly have kept the question of the date of the Vāsiṣṭha Dharmaśāstra open, but both are agreed that it is to be placed several centuries before Christ. Then comes the Mānava Dharmaśāstra. The heterogenous character of this work permits no exact dating and Bühler laid down the wide time limits for it—from 2nd century B.C. to the 2nd century A.C.[1] The Viṣṇu-smṛti has undergone a re-shaping in the hands of a Vaiṣṇavite and in its present form cannot be older than the 3rd century A.C. The Yājñavalkya-Smṛti too belongs to the third or the fourth century

1 The kernel of the Mānava Dharmaśāstra was very probably in existence already at quite an early period (see I. H. Q., vol. III, pp. 808-13).

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A.C. at the earliest. Jolly has dated the Nārada-Smṛ at about 500 A. C. and Bṛhaspati and Kātyāyana in the sixth or the seventh century.

This in main outlines is the Chronology of the Smṛtis which has been hitherto recognised by almost all scholars.[1] Now, however, J. J. Meyer in his recent work "Über das Wesen der Altindischen Rechtsschriften und ihr Verhältnis zu einander und zu Kauṭilya" has started many novel theories intended to demolish this frame-work of the Chronology of Smṛtis. Meyer's wonderful industry in preparing a work of 414 solidly printed pages cannot be too hightly spoken of and it is well worth examining some of his theories, specially as Dr. Barnett in his review of this work has accepted most of the theories. How startling these theories are will at once appear when we consider that Gautama in Meyer's opinion is one of the latest Smṛtis and Nārada is one of the earliest.

Meyer says at the beginning of his work that he has tried to find the relative age of the Smṛtis in his book and not the absolute date of any particular work so that the dates of all the Smṛtis may be fixed when any particular work is afterwards exactly dated in some way or other. Yet from what he says on p. 330 it appears that he thinks Kauṭilya and Baudhāyana to be contemporaries. He says: "Kaut. nach unserer Smṛti zurechtrücken hiesse das Pferd am Schwanz aufzäumen. Von den uns bekannten Dharmaschriften hat er allem Anschein nach nur Baudhāyana benutzt. Oder B. ihn? Dies wohl nicht. Oder beide ein und dieselbe Quelle?" [To place Kauṭ. after

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1 Hopkins (Cambridge History of India, p. 249) has accepted the relative Chronology of the Smṛtis but brings down the date of Āpastamba to the second century B. C. Hopkins, however, says in defence of his theory only this that the grammatical archaisms in Āp. need not signify a pre-Pāṇinian age, for the South-Indians might not have followed the canons of Pāṇini even long after he had fixed the northern usage. This does not prove a second century date for Āpastamba. Besides the rules of Pāṇini were never fully accepted even in Northern India—a fact which misled Pischel to think that Pāṇini belonged to an age posterior to Kālidāsa. No great importance, therefore, should be attached to these grammatical peculiarities of Āpastamba. Bühler's other arguments too should have to be refuted before such a date can be suggested.

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our Smṛtis would be to place the cart before the horse. To all appearance he has used only B. of the works on Dharma known to us. Or has B. used him? That is not probable. Or have they both drawn upon one and the same source?] Now according to Meyer Kauṭ. is the Prime Minister of Candragupta Maurya and Baudh. is the oldest Dharmasūtra. It is to be concluded from this, therefore, that in Meyer's opinion no other Dharmasūtra than B. can claim to be older than Kauṭ., that is, the last quarter of the fourth century B.C. But turning just five pages after this we come across an indirect statement to the effect that Āpastamba is older than Kauṭ. On p. 335 Meyer says: "Für Āp. ist also *vrātya* und Brahmane comme il faut dasselbe. Was heisst nun *vrātya*? (Some quotations from the MBh.) Diese und ähnliche Stellen lehren uns nur, dass der Vrātya in späteren Zeiten mit bösem Makel behaftet ist. *Weiter bringt uns Kauṭ.* 163, 4-5. ..... Es sind also wohl mehr oder minder unsesshafte Künstler, die das Volk unterhalten, ähnlich den Barden." [To Āp. therefore the *vrātyas* are *comme il faut* the same as the Brahmans. Now what is the meaning of *vrātya*? (Some quotations from the Mbh.) These and similar other passages only show us that the Vrātya in later times contracted evil defects. *Kauṭ. 163, 4-5 takes us further*.....They are therefore more or less unsettled artists who entertain the people like bards]. It is clear that here Meyer gives precedence to Āp. over Kauṭ. We have thus two dates for Āp., one pre-Kauṭilyan and another post-Kauṭilyan. But the matter does not end here. We have still another date for Āp. which would take him into the pre-Buddhistic age. After his book was written Meyer with commendable ingeniousness says in the preface (p. vii): "Nur als meine *jetzige Ansicht* will ich erwähnen, dass Baudhāyana und Āpastamba wohl vor-Buddhistisch sind." [Only as my *present* view I wish to state that Baudhāyana and Āpastamba are probably pre-Buddhistic.]. One of the principal theories for which the book was written is thus rejected by the author himself when the book was finished. It is, therefore, unnecessary to dwell upon what Meyer says about Āp. as the author himself could not decide upon any fixed date. But this uncertainty with regard to the date of Āp. is of considerable significance, for the dates of the other older Dharmasūtras depend largely upon it.

Meyer's main arguments are based on a comparison of the texts of the Smṛtis. The greater part of his book is devoted to the task of tracing a particular sentence or verse through the various Smṛtis and he has tried to fix the comparative age of the Smṛtis in view

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of the change and modifications undergone by the passages in the different works. Meyer has thus collected a valuable string of parallel passages from the Smṛtis. It is interesting to note that precisely the same method of work has been followed by the authors of the law-digests, such as Devaṇṇabhaṭṭa and Mitramiśra, and the commentators too, e.g., Aparārka on Yājñavalkya and Mādhavācārya on Parāśara, have followed this method. Like Meyer they too have quoted as many passages as possible on every topic, but there is one fatal difference : Devaṇṇabhaṭṭa, Mitramiśra or Mādhavācārya never thought that the parallel passages in the Smṛtis were merely mutual quotations. It cannot be said with Meyer that the re-occurrence of the same idea, sometimes more or less in practically the same words, is due to plagiarism on the part of the authors of later Smṛtis. It must not be forgotten that all the authors concerned are dealing with the same subject and that all the authors had only to note down the laws and customs prevalent in the country. The field of independent authorship was therefore necessarily extremely narrow, leaving practically no room for play of imagination on their part. True, sometimes the Smṛti-writers have tried to explain facts by theories as in the case of the caste-system, and sometimes they have tried to draw up pedantic classifications as in the treatment of slavery,—in all these points Kauṭilya is a valuable check to the Smṛtis, for though not fully, he was in a large measure free from the Smṛti traditons—but in all other cases the essential task of the Smṛti-writers was undoubtedly merely to note down the prevalent customs. These customs might vary from province to province in the vast sub-continent of India, but as the oldest of the orthodox Dharmasūtras hail from the South, it may be taken for granted that such differences would be but inessential at the best. The lessons of time have exercised a much greater influence on the laws and customs of India, but here too we must recognise the fact that there was never a complete break with the past to hinder the gradual evolution of the laws by unperceived degrees. Moreover, we must remember that there was a vast floating literature of 'Spruchweisheit' which everybody could quote without being guilty of plagiarism. Under these circumstances is it to be wondered at that there are many passages which re-appear in almost all the Smṛtis in approximately the same language ? Meyer, however, completely misses this view-point. Nor does he believe in the existence of a floating literature constituting the 'Spruchweisheit' of India, for otherwise he would not have said (pp. 250f.) that the

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gāthā quoted in Viṣṇu 88, 4 is a mere quotation of Yājñavalkya 1, 206 with which it has the first two *pādas* in common although the other two *pādas* are quite dissimilar in the two passages. The *gāthās*, so far as they are known to us, are ancient memorial verses coming down perhaps from the Vedic period, and a verse composed by later authors like Yājñavalkya can by no means claim to be a *gāthā*. We should also remember that Yājñ. (1, 45) himself recommends the study of *gāthikās*. In this case therefore, it would be more proper to say that the *gāthā* in question was quoted alike by Vi. and Yājñ. and it need not be a sign of former's dependence on the latter.

Meyer has failed to perceive all this which might well have accounted for the numerous parallel passages in the Smṛtis and the inevitable result is that whenever Meyer finds the same word, sentence or even the same idea in two places, he takes it to be a case of quotation. Now as these similarities, from reasons stated above, cannot but be very numerous, Meyer naturally finds himself in a bewildering sea of quotations which he has marshalled with consummate skill to demolish the established chronology of the Smṛtis—we shall not say, to rebuild it, for no such things has been attempted anywhere,—difference of age between two works being always 'many' or 'several' centuries. All these so-called "quotations" so painfully collected prove little or nothing at all about the comparative age of the Smṛtis though they may be of immense value for text-criticism.

Meyer has devoted a great many pages of his book to prove that Yājñ. has slavishly copied Kauṭilya. Indeed the laws of Yājñ. and Kauṭ. are so strikingly similar, sometimes even to the letter, as proved by so many scholars before, that it will have to be admitted that one of these two authors has exploited the other and most probably it is Yājñ. who has exploited Kauṭ. Thus the conclusion reached by Meyer is on the whole correct, but here too his method is wrong. As in all other cases here too Meyer has pointed out numerous parallel passages between Kauṭ. and Yājñ. and drawn from them the conclusion adverted to above. It is impossible to examine all these parallel passages here, but it will perhaps be sufficient to examine that particular passage which in Meyer's own opinion is the most convincing of all and proves beyond doubt that Yājñ. slavishly follows Kauṭilya. Kauṭ. 195, 13-15 says: *kāṣṭhaloṣṭapāṣāṇa-lohadaṇḍarajjudravyāṇām anyatamena duḥkham aśoṇitam upadadhataś caturviṃśatipaṇo daṇḍaḥ. śoṇitotpādane dviguṇaḥ.* Yājñ. 2, 218 says: *śoṇitena vinā duḥkham kurvan kāṣṭhādibhir*

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naraḥ, dvātriṃśataṃ daṇḍaṃ daṇḍyaḥ etc. Now this, according to Meyer, is an instance of flagrant plagiarism on the part of Yājñ. and of which it can nowise be said that Kauṭ. has elaborated the rule of Yājñ. He asks (p. 178): "Can it be imagined that Kauṭ. has developed his *kāṣṭhaloṣṭapāṣāṇa* etc. out of Yājñ.'s *kāṣṭhādibhiḥ*?" It cannot certainly be imagined, but neither does it prove Yājñ.'s slavish imitation. It cannot be proved that Yājñ.'s *kāṣṭhādibhiḥ* is taken from Kauṭ.'s long compound word even though the parallel rule of Manu (8, 284) does not contain the words *kāṣṭha* etc. I may be allowed to point out that Vijñāneśvara explains this word by *kāṣṭhaloṣṭādibhiḥ*. Vijñ. therefore has two words in common with Kauṭ., whereas Yājñ. has only one. Will it therefore be said that Vijñ. knew this particular passage of Kauṭ.? This is frankly impossible, simply from the fact that even though the texts of Kauṭ. would have been of immense help to him to clear up the obscure verses of Yājñ., Vijñ. has never quoted him, and it is well known that he is never tired of quoting and mentioning by name new authorities, for he quotes no less than 42 of them on Ācāra and Prāyaścitta alone (Jolly, Recht u. Sitte, p. 29), besides the standard authors.

Hans Losch, who has made a special study of the Yājñavalkya Smṛti, says: "Übersehen wir diese Abweichungen zwischen Kauṭ.'s Arthaśāstra und Yājñavalkya....., so ist offenbar, dass wir es in der Smṛti nicht mit einer sklavischen Nachahmung des Arthaśāstra im gebundener Rede zu tun haben."[1] [If we look at these differences between Kauṭ.'s Arthaśāstra and Yājñavalkya....., it is clear that we have here no slavish imitation of Kauṭ. in verse]. At the end of the chapter Losch says even more emphatically: "Das Ergebnis ist also, dass das zweite Buch Yājñavalkya's trotz stärkster Beeinflussung durch das Arthaśāstra, ..., als selbständiges Werk gegenüber dem Arthaśāstra zu werten ist."[2] The conclusion therefore is that the second book of Yājñ., even though very strongly influenced by the Arthaśāstra.....is to be regarded as an independent work in respect of the Arthaśāstra]. This statement is all the more striking inasmuch as by 'Arthaśāstra' Losch here means the Arthaśāstras in general and not the Kauṭilīya Arthaś. in particular. Indeed, it is true that the agreements between Kauṭilya and Yājñ. are very remarkable but the

1 Die Yājñavalkyasmṛti verglichen mit den Parallelen des Agni und Garuḍapurāṇa, p. 26.

2 Ibid., p. 27.

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differences too are not less striking. Kauṭ. makes no allowance for caste privileges when dealing with rape, realisation of debt and rates of interest, but in all this Yājñ., following the true tradition of the Dharmaśāstras, makes rules favourable to the higher castes and detrimental to the lower. Kauṭ. 3, 11 declares that the husband is liable for the debts of the wife, but Yājñ. (2, 46) is of just the opposite view. Yājñ. 2, 195 says that if a labourer does more work than was stipulated for, the employer should pay him something extra; Kauṭ., however, in his corresponding chapter (3, 14) takes the opposite view.[1] Yajñ. (2. 34) declares that if a secret treasure is discovered the king should give away the whole of it to a qualified Brahman, but Kauṭ. (4. 1) does not hesitate to say that in such a case the king should seize the whole of it if it is very large. Many other disagreements may no doubt be discovered without much difficulty and it is but too true that there are many things in Kauṭ. which Yājñ. does not touch at all. It is hardly likely that Yājñ. would have suppressed these topics if he had been a slavish imitator of Kauṭilya.

Yājñavalkya's is therefore an independent work and Yājñavalkya has hitherto been rightly regarded as one of the most rational thinkers of Ancient India. It is not without reason that the Yājñ. along with the Mitākṣarā came to be regarded as the standard law-book in most parts of India. Meyer however thinks otherwise. In his opinion (see pp. 191f.), innumerable fragments of strophes whirled about in the brain of this Brahmin like the dry leaves of trees on a pathway in a windy day; this idiotic Brahmin however did not know how to arrange these strophes, but jotted them down pell-mell; and the result is that the Yājñavalkya-smṛti is as devoid of meaning or sense as the verses composed by the three-year-old son of the author (Meyer) made up of fragments of various poems heard by the child. We do not know what has induced Meyer to shut his eyes to patent facts and to be so hard on poor Yājñavalkya. What does he find so very condemnable in him? According to Meyer (see p. 123), Yājñ. 2, 156-157 is one of the typical passages in which Yajñ. betrays his deplorable lack of intelligence. Yājñ. here says: "(If anybody) erects an embankment (on a field not his own, and the embankment) entails little loss (of ground) and

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1 *sambhāṣitād adhikakriyāyām prayāsaṃ mogham kuryāt.* Gaṇapati Śāstrī however places a *na* before *mogham* and reverses the whole sense.

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does much good, it is not to be prohibited (by the owner of the field). Neither should he prevent the digging of a well which takes little ground (but) contains much water. But if the embankment is erected even without taking the permission of the owner (of the field), the latter will enjoy the benefits thereof, and in the absence of an owner, the king". Now comes Meyer with the question, "Wie vermag man nun aber den Eigentümer zu fragen wenn keiner vorhanden ist ? [How can a man ask the owner if no such person exists ?] It is quite clear that Meyer's question is irrelevant. Yājñ. in the second verse speaks of unclaimed property ; if anybody wishes to erect an embankment on an unclaimed field he will have to take the permission of the king and not of the non-existent owner as Meyer insists. It requires no great imagination to explain the verse in this and the only possible manner. If there was any doubt on this score it is fully cleared up by Vijñāneśvara who in his comment on this verse says : *kṣetrasvāminam anabhyupagamya, tadabhāve rājānaṃ vā, yaḥ parakṣetre setuṃ pravarttayaty asau phalabhāṅ na bhavati. api tu tadutpanne phale kṣetrasvāmino bhogas, tadabhāve rājñaḥ.* Meyer however holds the Indian commentators in contempt (see p. 320) and would not be guided by Vijñāneśvara. He would rather fancy that Yājñ. borrowed this passage from Narada XI, 20-22 and remarks, "Yājñ. dachte (wenn er überhaupt dachte) : man wird aus Nārada ergänzen : und fragt er den König nicht." [Yājñ. thought (if he ever thought at all) : people will supplement this passage from Nārada : "if he does neither ask the king."] We have already seen that this theory is quite unnecessary. The interesting point is that Meyer has doubts if Yājñ. ever thought at all. Can this be said of the Yājñavalkya who (I, 56) declared, "I do not like the current view that twice-born men may marry a Śūdrā" (*yad ucyate dvijātīnāṃ śūdrādāropasaṃgrahaḥ, naitan mama matam*) ?

On p. 124, Meyer takes considerable liberty with Yājñ. 2, 158 and has forced it to yield a meaning which in his opinion goes to prove Yājñ.'s dependence on Kauṭ. The verse of Yājñ. is quite simple : *phālūhatam api kṣetraṃ yo na kuryāt, na kārayet, / sa pradāpyaḥ kṛṣṭaphalaṃ, kṣetram anyena kārayet.*// The most natural rendering of it would be as Stenzler has translated it : If (a labourer) does not till a field and also refuses to have it tilled by another even after the field has been furrowed, he shall make good (to the owner of the field) the crops which would have grown on that field (if it had been tilled). The word *phālūhata* may only mean "already furrowed," and there is no earthly reason why its meaning should be different

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from that of the word *phālakṛṣṭa* excepting perhaps that the latter may mean "fully ploughed." But Meyer holds that these two words have quite different meanings,—in his opinion the word *phālāhata* means "*urbar gemacht*, being under plow (sic)," and he translates the verse thus: If a man does not plough a field which is made arable (*urbar gemacht*) nor has it ploughed by another, he would have to give the same produce which it would have yielded if the field was tilled and shall permit another person to till it. [Wenn jemand urbar gemachtes Feld nicht bestellt oder bestellen lässt, soll er den Ertrag geben den es abwürfe wenn es gepflügt würde, und soll dies Feld von einem anderen bestellen lassen]. This interpretation is based on the hypothetical meaning of the word *phālāhata* and on the belief that the tillers of the fields never received half the crops for their labours even though the significant term *ardhasīrin* is found in most of the Smṛtis and even at the present day this is the state of things in many parts of India. It cannot therefore be accepted. Thus it is not true that Yājñ. like Kauṭ. here prescribes punishment for the owner of a field who does not take care to have it tilled; it is rather apparent that Yājñ. speaks of the negligent labourer who does not finish the task undertaken by him, and both the ancient commentators, Vijñāneśvara and Aparārka, have explained it that way.

We have already seen that in Meyer's opinion Yājñ., bent on condensing the text as far as possible, has never quoted the verses of his predecessors in full but has always broken them up and then joined them together pell-mell and of course he himself was not intelligent enough to compose a single verse. This is certainly a daring hypothesis. But still more daring is the conclusion that any work which has any verse in common with Yājñ. must be later than Yājñ. This theory too of course cannot be accepted.

Hitherto Nār. has always been dated at about 500 A.C., but according to Meyer, Nār. is to be placed several centuries before Christ. The question arises if Meyer considers Nār. to be older than Vas. Assuming that Meyer thinks Vas. to be later than Āp., (though this point has not been made clear by the author), we arrive, in view of the fact that Baudh. is a contemporary of Kauṭ., at the irresistible conclusion that Vas. is not older than the second century B. C. There is nothing to say against this date of Vas. Now, if the word 'several' is taken to mean 'two', Nār. becomes a contemporary of Vas. and, if more correctly, it is taken to mean more than

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two, Nār. becomes older than Vas. But it has been clearly stated by Meyer on more than one occasion that Vas. is older than Nār. Thus we see that there is a great confusion not only regarding the date of Āp. but also regarding the date of Nār. Yet, we must not forget that the theory about the date of Nār. is "irrefutably established" by Meyer !

Nār. is dated at about 500 A. C. on account of the following reasons: (1) Nārada's treatment of law proper is on a much more advanced footing than those of M., Yājñ. etc., not to speak of the older Dharmasūtras ; he makes 132 sub-sections of the 18 titles of law and he knows 15 kinds of slavery, 21 ways of earning livlihood and emphasises the importance of written documents in law-suits. (2) Nār. knows the *dīnāra*. (3) He refers to the Manusmṛti in his introduction and actually quotes the initial verse of M., though of course it now occupies the fourth place in M.—the three preceding verses, however, being recognised as later interpolations.

So far as I can see Meyer has said nothing about the last point, but he has tried to refute all the other arguments. He sees no reason why the advanced views of Nār. should be a sign of his late origin. Meyer rather ridicules the word *'fortgeschritten'* (advanced) and the idea that advanced views presuppose a late origin. "Advanced, therefore, of later origin,"—this has been a favourite argument with earlier authors ; it must be admitted that it is not always infallible, but neither is it ridiculous. Shall we suppose that the Hindu legal system was developed in one single day and that Nār. alone thought out the whole code of law perfect in every feature, like Minerva out of the head of Jupiter ? In order to explain these advanced views of Nārada, Meyer suggests that Nār. was a practical politician whereas M., Yājñ. etc. were mere dilettantes (p. 88). Nārada's work is wholly devoted to law proper, but that does not in any way prove that Nār. was a *Realpolitiker*. Meyer remarks (p. 305), perhaps in support of this theory, that Nārada is very probably responsible for the introduction of the system of ordeals into Hindu law, but with the important clause "so far as I can see." We fully appreciate the significance of this clause, but did the 'Realpolitiker' Nār. find the ordeals reliable enough to take the initiative himself ? Kauṭ. does not say a single word on them, whereas Nārada describes no less than five different kinds of ordeals and recommends their use on failure of other means of proving. Kauṭ. is silent about the ordeals not because they were unknown to him but because, as

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Meyer himself admits (p. 305), he regarded them to be too unreliable (K. schweigt vollkommen von den Gottesurteilen weil sie ihm in mehrfacher Beziehung als zu unzuverlässig erschienen).

Apart from the dubious nature of the ordeals how can it be said that the first author who permitted the ordeals into the Hindu law should approve of no less than five forms when Meyer himself has described to us how odious the ordeals must have been to the Brahmins?—I assume that Meyer believes that like all other Smṛti writers Nār. too was a Brahmin. Meyer's words are worth quoting: Allem Anschein nach hatten die Brahmanen ursprünglich keinerlei Interesse für die Gottesurteile, wahrscheinlich sogar eine Abneigung gegen sie, und zwar wohl deshlb weil sie ein gewöhnlicher Bestandteil des weltlichen Rechtswesens waren, vielleicht auch weil die Brahmanen, die ursprünglich als eine Art Zigeuner durch das Land zogen, allzuoft von ihnen zu leiden gehabt hatten. [To all appearance the Brahmins had at first no interest in ordeals; they had probably even an aversion to them, and that very probably because the ordeals were an usual feature of the secular law and perhaps also because the Brahmins, who originally were a kind of gypsies roving in the country, had very often to suffer from them]. A pertinent query is why does Kauṭilya ignore the ordeals if they were an essential feature of Indian law? And if indeed the ordeals were so odious to the Brahmins, how is it that they should recognise no less than five forms of the same even at the very beginning and not by slow degrees as was suggested, e.g., by Jolly, of course for very different reasons? Jolly says (Recht und Sitte, p. 145) that from the two forms of ordeal which are found in M. gradually five and finally even nine forms were evolved though, however, it cannot be said that any particular form among them is older than the other. It is true that Jolly has carried his scepticism a little too far, for, as Hopkins (C. H. I., p. 283) has pointed out, the ordeal by Dharma and Adharma is certainly of a very late origin. Meyer however finds this sentence to be quite unintelligible. He asks (p. 89) "Wenn alle diese Gottesurteile gleich alt sind.....wo bleibt dann Raum für die von M. ausgehende stufenhafte Entwicklung von zweien hinüber zu neunen?" [If all these ordeals are equally old what room is there left for the gradual development beginning with M. from two forms to nine?] Meyer thinks that Jolly here is speaking of antiquity in composition; but Jolly, it seems, speaks of antiquity in application. What Jolly means is that perhaps all these ordeals were in vogue in India from very ancient times in the form of super-

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stitions—indeed it is well known that ordeals were a popular institution even in the Indo-Germanic period—but they were crystalised into law only by slow degrees. And this, in my opinion, also accounts for the non-mention of ordeals in the Arthaśāstra; while the Smṛtis were dealing with the ordeals still merely as superstitious practices, Kauṭ. was quite justified in omitting them, because they had not yet gained the status of law. Thus, here too Meyer has missed the true meaning.

Nār.'s numerous sub-sections of the 18 titles of law, in Meyer's opinion, by no means indicate a late origin. He is surprised that Nār. does not give us still more sub-sections (p. 88). On the eleven kinds of witnesses he says (p. 92), "ich finde nichts wovon ich nicht sagen müsste: Wunderlich wäre es, wenn die Inder nicht vor M., ja lange vor M., sogar noch "fortgeschrittenere" Klassifikationen und sonstige genaue Bestimmungen und Regeln betreffs der Zeugen gehabt hätten." [I find nothing about which I am not compelled to say: it would be surprising if the Indians had not, already before M., indeed long before him, still more "fortgeschritten" rules and regulations about witnesses.] It is of course re-assuring to find that Meyer does not consider the magic-ridden Hindus to be wholly incapable of rational thinking. But it is disappointing to see that Meyer immediately after this applies his "ein bisschen in Nārada geschulte Augen" to prove the passages in Nār. dealing with inadmissible witnesses to be interpolations. How is it that Meyer expects to find more detailed rules about competent witnesses, and yet he does not expect to find more detailed rules about inadmissible witnesses? It is true that these passages in Nār. are suspicious, but Meyer should be the last person to say so. The arguments forwarded by Meyer to prove that these passages are interpolations are, however, quite extraordinary. He has only showed that it cannot be proved that Yājñ. and Vi. have made use of this passage (apart from the fact that he takes *rāgāndha* to be equivalent to *kāmārta* which is highly improbable if not quite impossible). This phenomenon may be well explained on the hypothesis that Yājñ. and Vi. are older than Nār. as held by Bühler and Jolly. We need not conclude anything else from this fact.

In order to show the futility of the theory that every work which exhibits 'fortgeschrittenere' ideas is of a later date, Meyer (p. 102) has pointed out the fact that Nār. (Introd., I. 3 and II. 28) mentions only two methods of proving whereas Vasiṣṭha xvi, 10 mentions three. Should we, therefore, says Meyer, conclude that Nār.

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is older than Vas.? In reply we shall only repeat Meyer's own words on Gautama: Nārada "hat schrecklich zu viel gelesen" [has read horribly too much] and has "vereinfacht" [simplified] the whole thing (p. 91). Vas. mentions three means of proving a case—written documents, witnesses and actual possession, whereas Nār. mentions only written documents and witnesses. Now Asahāya commenting on Nār. I, 76 says, "possession of immovables without a title does not produce proprietory right," and Nār. himself says (1. 84), "where there is enjoyment, but no title of any sort, there a title is required in order to produce proprietory right." Why not say then that Nār. understood that it is useless to mention possession over and above documents and witnesses, and, in order to simplify the matter, dropped it altogether? But even that is not necessary, for Nār. actually mentions (1, 69) all the three modes of proving as pointed out by Meyer himself. But there is again a verse of Nār. which declares that possession alone and neither title nor witnesses proves ownership: "Even when documents are in existence and the witnesses too are alive, nothing is certain, particularly in the case of immovable properties, if they are not in possession" (1, 77). Is it too much to think, in the light of these conflicting opinions of the same person, that there was little of a 'Realpolitiker' in Nār.? Nār. 1, 158 shows that far from being an indepedent thinker, he was a slavish imitator and did not dare to raise his head against the authorities. He says here *kṣatriyās tāpasā vṛddhā ye ca pravrajitādayaḥ, asākṣiṇas te vacanān, nātra hetur udāhṛtaḥ*. The word *vacanāt* here is most significant and I have no doubt that it refers to M. 8, 65[1] though, however, instead of Manu's *nṛpati* Nār. takes the *kṣatriya* to be an inadmissible witness which of course is utter nonsense. We thus see that Nār. does not dare to contradict the statements of ancient authorities like Manu even when he feels that these statements are unjust, and this also conclusively proves Nār.'s posteriority to Manu.

Regarding the 21 kinds of livelihood in Nār. Meyer says (p. 93) that from very early times the Indians were engaged in thinking out what is magically pure and dangerless. What is therefore to wonder at if Nār. has drawn up a list of 21 ways of earning livelihood,—7 white, 7 speckled and 7 black? All that is quite understandable, but what has a law-specialist like Nār. (Meyer, p. 88)

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1 na sākṣī nṛpatiḥ kāryo na kārukakuśīlavau /
na śrotriyo na liṅgastho na saṅgebhyoḥ vinirgataḥ //

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to do with these questions of magic? The fact is that Nār. is as little a law-specialist as he is one of the most ancient Smṛti-writers. If this classification of the means of earning livelihood was really as ancient as Meyer presumes it to be we would have certainly found it in Āp., Baudh., M., etc. who record so much more of superstitious customs than Nār. Besides Nār. only Viṣṇu knows of this classification and Meyer himself admits that Vi. is a later author but who in his opinion has taken it *en bloc* from Nār. If that is so why the intermediate authors between Nār. and Vi. in Meyer's scheme have not taken this classification from Nār.? In his opinion Yājñ. for instance has copied from Nār. no less than Vi.!

The 15 kinds of slavery mentioned by Nār. cannot be a sign of Nārada's late origin according to Meyer (p. 88). By way of explanation he says that slaves of various kinds have always been known in India; individual authors however have mentioned as many or as few as they chose to; Manu (8, 415) for instance mentions 7 kinds of slaves, but Buddhaghoṣa mentions 4 kinds. Meyer therefore concludes that the criterion of salvery fails to prove anything about the priority or posteriority of individual authors. Meyer does not give the reference to Buddhaghoṣa and so it is impossible to verify the passage. Yet it is difficult to see how the theory can stand simply on the fact that Buddhaghoṣa mentions four kinds of slaves. It is possible that Buddhaghoṣa does this out of mistake, for he is not known to have been an eminent jurist in any way. Meyer has repeatedly accused Manu and Yājñ. of dilettantism. Why not accuse Buddhaghoṣa too now of that same shortcoming? But it is certainly not right to make a special case of slavery and hold that the authors followed no system in the treatment thereof. We need not believe that 15 kinds of slaves were actually in vogue in the days of Nārada who is certainly later than Manu. Slavery was, and still is, in vogue in many countries but it is not known that so many classifications were ever made of these slaves. It is therefore very likely that neither Manu nor Nārada but Buddhaghoṣa alone has recorded the true state of affairs, but even that is not quite certain, for he too might have been influenced by the split-hair theoreticians like Nārada whose love of classification and systematisation is so well known. When Nārada gives a list of 15 kinds of slaves, nothing can be more mistaken than to think that actually so many kinds of slaves were known in those days. May be, Nār. only intends to show how many kinds of slaves are possible.

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The gradual elaboration in this respect goes on in theory ; Manu could think only of 7 kinds of slavery and after him Nār. thought out 15 kinds but in actual life there were certainly always fa- fewer categories. It is significant that Kauṭ. says nothing about the variety of slaves. But in Meyer's opinion these detailed classifications in Nār. prove that Nār. was a 'Realpolitiker.' It may perhaps be asked why should Nār. deal with secular law in such meticulous details if he was not actually a practical politician. It is evidently because of this that Meyer cannot think of Nār. except as a 'Realpolitiker,' just as Kauṭilya in his opinion cannot but be the Prime Minister of Candragupta Maurya. But it is unfair to decide a man's character from his literary activity. Let us for instance take the example of Vātsyāyana, the author of the Kāmasūtra, who declares at the end of his work that he remained chaste as a Brahmacārin all his life. It is very probable that Nār. was as little interested in secular law as Vātsyāyana in erotics and this makes the improbable theories in his work all the more understandable.

Meyer does not properly face the problem how Nārada could know the *dīnāra*. He declares the two passages concerned to be interpolations. But it may be said that every work, from Baudhāyana and Āpastamba downwards, is open to the danger of being tampered with in this way. Why should then only this particular work contain the name of this coin ? Moreover, it is extremely difficult to thrust a passage here and there into such a compact and "*planmässig*" work as Nār.

About the fourth verse of the Manusmṛti in Nār., Meyer, so far as I can see, has nothing to say. Meyer would perhaps argue that the verse concerned is found only in the introductory chapter of Nār. and this chapter is a later addition. It is quite possible that this chapter is a later addition, but all the same, Meyer has not on that account omitted to turn it to account to prove the antiquity of the Nāradasmṛti, for he also takes into consideration the well known tradition recorded in the introductory chapter of Nār. that it is the ninth chapter of an older version of Manu than that of Bhṛgu.

Meyer on the whole is too hard on Gautama. He assigns to him a date 'many' centuries later than Yājñ. and 'much' later than Viṣṇu. No, he has even used the commentaries on Manu [Er hat jedemfalls auch M. Kommentare benutzt, p. 119]. Meyer, therefore, thinks that Gaut. is later than Medhātithi. How could Meyer overlook the fact that Medhātithi quotes Gautama very frequently ? It is only necessary to

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look at the indexes of Dr. Ganganath Jha. Not only Gaut. but Yājñ. too has made use of the commentaries on M. in Meyer's opinion (p.70) and Bṛhaspati too is later than Medhātithi, for he says (there he is certainly right) that Gaut. must be older than Bṛh. (p. 324). Thus the three important Smṛti-writers Gaut., Yājñ. and Bṛh. are later than Medhātithi (ninth century) according to Meyer. All this is absurd, for Medh. frequently quotes Gaut. and Yājñ., and Bṛh. is glorified as an inspired seer even from the ninth century (Jolly, Recht und Sitte §9).

Meyer utilises a quotation in Yaśodhara's commentary on the Kāmasūtra to prove the late origin of the Gautamīya Dharmasūtra (p. 325). The passage quoted by Yaśodhara is attributed to Gautama but it is not to be found in the Gautama-smṛti. Meyer at first proves with great industry that Yaśodhara cannot be relied upon so far as the quotations in his work are concerned, and says "Die obigen Beispiele zeigen dass Yaśodh. so wenig wie andere in seinen Zitaten zuverlässig ist. Bei dem Gautamasūtra aber wird kaum eine Namenverwechslung vorliegen können. Unser Gautama ist also wohl zu Yaśodharas Zeit noch nicht vorhanden oder doch noch nicht anerkannt gewesen." [The above examples show that Yaśodh. is as little reliable in his quotations as any other. In the case of the Gautamasūtra, however, it is hardly possible that any confusion of name has taken place. Our Gautama, therefore, perhaps was not yet in existense or was not yet recognised in the days of Yaśodhara]. What is there to prove that no confusion of names has taken place here when Meyer himself admits that Yaśodh. is very unreliable? Yet on such a slight basis Meyer constructs the theory that Gautama-smṛti was perhaps not in existence at the time of Yaśodhara, who in his opinion, cannot be much later than 600 A. C. Cf. R. Schmidt who shows that Yaśodhara might also have been living at a much later date (Indische Erotic, first ed., p. 25).

Both Baudhāyana and Vasiṣṭha refer to Gaut.,—each twice. One reference of Baudh. and one reference of Vas. may be traced in the present text of Gautama. The second reference in Baudh. (2, 2, 69-71) is about the question whether the Brāhmaṇa can adopt the mode of life of a Kṣatriya when hard-pressed, which, he says, is allowed by Gaut. Gaut. 7, 6, however, declares that the Brāhmaṇa should never adopt the life of a Kṣatriya soldier because it is a cruel life. Bühler declares this passage in Gaut. to be spurious on the ground that it is opposed to the sense of two rules of Gaut. (SBE, Vol. II, p. lvi). Meyer, however, is not prepared to call it an interpolation and says

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that it is merely a pious wish [Ich sehe keinen Grund dafür als den frommen Wunsch, p. 320]. and concludes that the Gaut. quoted by Baudh. is quite a different work. Regarding the second reference in Vas., Bühler suggests that the passage in question might have been taken from some other work of the Gautama school (Ibid., p. lviii), but Meyer replies thus (p. 321): "Und da sollen wir es trotzdem mit demselben Autor zu tun haben!" [And in spite of that we should have to think that we have one and the same author here!] Thus in the case of Baudh., Meyer ridicules reason and he misquotes Bühler in the case of Vas. and in this way has succeeded in establishing his theory that Gaut. is 'many' centuries later than Yājñ.

Meyer's prejudice against Gaut. cannot be explained. When Gaut.'s rules are meagre, "He has read dreadfully too much and therefore leaves much unsaid to be supplied from the vast literature of the Smṛtis behind him," but when his rules are detailed it is invariably because of his late origin! One of the principal reasons why in Meyer's opinion Gaut. cannot be one of the earlier Dharmasūtras is that Gaut. speaks much more about law proper than Āp. or Baudh.; yet he does not hesitate to place Nārada 'several' centuries before the Christian era, beside whose rules on secular law those of Gaut. are mere child's play. Meyer would argue perhaps ".....wir in der uns vorliegenden Smṛti überhaupt keine Entwicklung des altindischen Rechts, sondern nur eine zunehmende Einkörperung des unabhängig von den brahmanischen Gesetzbüchern vorhandenen und höchst wahrscheinlich in nicht unbeträchtlichem Umfang schon vorher systematisch bearbeiteten altindischen Rechts vor uns haben, eine Einkörperung in das Smṛtischrifttum, die dabei nicht einmal in sich selber eine durchweg fortschreitende genannt werden kann, sondern die der eine Schriftsteller in weiterem, der andre in geringerem Umfang, der eine mit mehr Verständnis und Sachkenntnis, der andere mit weniger vornimmt, je nach individueller Anlage und Befähigung, ..."[1](pp. 86-7). But this argument loses much of its force from the

1 .....in the existing Smṛti we do not find any development of Indian law but only an increasing incorporation into the Smṛtis of the Ancient Indian law which was existing independently of the Brahmins and was very probably systematically dealt with already before—an incorporation which in no way can be said to be advancing, but which this or that author took in larger or smaller measure, one with more understanding and knowlege of the subject

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fact that the first part of this long sentence is in evident contradiction to the latter portion. The author begins with "zunehmende Einkörperung" [increasing incorporation] and finishes with "Einkörperung in weiterem (oder) geringerem Umfang" [incorporation in larger (or) smaller measure], and that makes all the difference. If he insists on the first statement he has to fall back on the hated theory of "fortgeschrittene Entwicklung" [advanced development] (p. 87). If he takes his stand on the second, he has nothing more to say against Gautama, for we have only to imagine that Gaut. cared to incorporate a little more of secular law into his book than his immediate successors chose to. It cannot be denied that he had actually an eye for worldly things which we miss, for instance, in Āpastamba and Baudhāyana. Indeed, there is much in Gautama that savours of a later origin and in my opinion he belongs to an age posterior to Āpastamba's[1] but the quotations prove, that he is older than Baudh. and Vas. Bühler (Ibid.) frankly admits that Gaut. has been much tampered with and Jolly in 'Recht und Sitte' has placed Gaut. among the revised Dharmasūtras. That is significant and removes many of the difficulties. Meyer, however, thinks that Gaut. of all the Smṛtis has not been tampered with at all, but he gives no reason.

Meyer finds another support to his theory in the fact that Gaut. does not mention the Dharmapāṭhaka who is said to have been a member of the *parṣad* by the ancient Smṛti writers. None of these works unfortunately gives an accurate definition of the Dharmapāṭhaka and Bühler following the commentators took it to be the designation of a man who has made a special study of the Dharmaśāstras. Meyer however, holds that the Dharmapāṭhaka was nothing but an expert in secular law whereas the other members of the *parṣad* were acquainted only with the sacred law. As Gaut. does not mention the Dharmapāṭhaka Meyer concludes that in his time works on law proper had been done away with by the Dharmaśāstras of the Brahmins (p. 317). Meyer has nowhere made a definite statement about the age of Gaut. but from his various arguments it may be said with certainty that he assigns Gaut. to a period somewhere between the fifth century and the tenth century A.C. During

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and another with less of that, in each case according to individual disposition and aptitude.....

1 Vide my article in I.H.Q., vol. III. pp. 606-11.

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these five hundred years there was no period when it is possible to imagine that secular law could be dispensed with. This period saw the decline of the Gupta empire and the rise and fall of the royal dynasty of Thaneswar and then the rise of the Pāla and Sena kings in Bengal who take us to beyond the period under review. In Southern India at this time we find still more powerful princes and kingdoms and it is absurd to think that these kings and their ministers could carry on their political functions even without the help of the science of law. There is, therefore, no reason to take Meyer's theory seriously, but still, as we shall see below, the Dharmapāṭhaka was by no means a specialist in secular law as Meyer says.

Meyer sees a particular motive also in the fact that only one Dharmapāṭhaka was kept in the *parṣad*. He says that the Brahmins above all wanted to have their own interests assured and they had everything to gain if the case placed before the *parṣad* could be settled according to the laws of Dharma and not according to the rules of forensic law represented by the Dharmapāṭhaka. That is the reason why only one representative of secular law was kept in the *parṣad* whereas there were several representatives of the sacred law, thus giving a clear majority to the latter. Apart from all other considerations it is clear that Meyer takes the *parṣad* to be a law-court; but I have no hesitation to say that there is not a single passage in the whole range of the Smṛtis to prove it. The *parṣad* so far as it is known to us from the Smṛtis was simply an advisory board of learned men who gave decisions about purity, impurity and other questions of the sacred law which had nothing to do with forensic law in the strict sense of the word and it is also clear from this that it was in no way necessary to have an expert on forensic law attached to the *parṣad*. But it may be definitely proved that Meyer's interpretation of the term Dharmapāṭhaka is purely imaginery and that Bühler was after all correct. Meyer will not accept the interpretation of the commentators and there he is quite right, but will he also ignore the evidence of an ancient author like Aṅgiras whose Smṛti, however, has now been destroyed? Fortunately Aparārka (on Yājñ.,1,9) quotes a few verses of Aṅgiras where along with other qualities of a Dharmapāṭhaka we read: *vedavidyāvratasnātaḥ satyasandho jitendriyaḥ | anekadharmaśāstrajñaḥ procyate dharmapāṭhakaḥ ||*

Here the word *anekadharmaśāstrajñaḥ* proves that Bühler's interpretation of the term is quite right and there is no reason to take seriously the highly hypothetical interpretation of the word suggested

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by Meyer which has nothing to support it. The conclusion drawn by Meyer about the age of Gaut., which has been already adverted to above, is very far-fetched. He might as well have concluded that works on law proper had not yet come into existence when Gaut. wrote his Dharmasūtra.

These are the chief arguments which Meyer uses to bring down the date of Gaut. The minor arguments too are equally insufficient to prove his theory. It is hard to guess how the word *prīṇanti* can signify Gautama's late origin (p. 307). Gaut. (22,27) lets the murderer of a prostitute go unpunished whereas Kauṭ. prescribes heavy fines for the same crime. Here Meyer finds a support to his theory (p. 294) that Gaut. "*ist jung, gar jung*" (p. 254). But can it not be taken to prove the antiquity of Gaut.? Does it not prove that Gaut. had not yet an inkling of what law proper should be and was still wholly swayed by laws of morality alone so that it was no crime in his opinion to murder a prostitute? Meyer takes the word *anibaddhaḥ* (Gaut. 13, 4) to mean 'not bound by written documents' and remarks that Gaut. knew written documents. But this interpretation is too far-fetched and cannot be accepted even though the commentator prefers it. Neither do I understand why Gautama's reference to the Purāṇas (11, 19) is a sign of the late origin of his Dharmasūtra; but it is difficult to see how in Meyer's scheme Gaut. could be the first author to mention the Purāṇas (p. 255). It is well-known that Āpastamba too mentions the Purāṇas and quotes particularly the Bhaviṣyat-purāṇa and that Purāṇas are mentioned even in the Vedic literature. Gaut.'s knowledge of the Atharva-veda cannot be a proof of his late date (p. 318).

Thus we see that Meyer's arguments are insufficient to prove his theory about the late origin of Gautama but this is one of the theories "unwiderleglich bewiesen" [irrefutably proved] by Meyer. It will perhaps not be out of place to mention here that this kind of assertion is rather new in the field of Indology, in which everything is vague and uncertain even at the best. And also outside this branch of learning it is never wise to presume that a different opinion will never arise. I may be allowed to say with the great Kant "dem Verfasser wohl geziemt Gründe vorzulegen, nicht aber über die Wirkung derselben bei seinen Richtern zu urteilen."

Regarding Viṣṇusmṛti Meyer says that the author of this work is a first rate plagiarist who has only broken up into prose the verses of Manu and Yājñ. Some of the passages cited by Meyer are really suggestive and it is idle to deny that he is mainly right so far as the

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Viṣṇusmṛti in its present form is concerned ; but he has no evidence to produce against the theory admitted by all that the original work has since undergone a thorough revision at the hand of a Vaiṣṇava.

These in brief are some of the novel theories of Meyer about the Smṛtis. There is a host of minor theories in this book which it is impossible to discuss here. Some of them are without doubt additions to our previous knowledge, but there are some which are evidently wrong. Few will be convinced that *putrikāputra* means a bastard (p. 315). '*Putrikā*' often signifies a doll, why should it not then mean a mistress ?—this is Meyer's argument.

Meyer says that all the Smṛtis from Manu downwards are the productions of individual authors and not the works of particular schools. It is beyond my plan here to discuss questions such as these. But it may be said that Meyer is to some extent justified in this statement because these works have lost their original character through ruthless rehandlings at the hands of later Brahmin theoreticians. But Meyer's remarkable theory about the ancient Brahmins cannot be lightly passed over. Brahmins, in his opinion, were bands of roving hungry gypsies always on the look out for an opportunity to steal the properties of Kṣatriyas and for whom not to steal was as difficult as performing devotional austerities, for does not Baudh. mention *asteya* as a *tapas* ? (See pp. 58, 90 and 311 etc.). One would think that the Brahmins in ancient India attained to such an eminent position simply by dint of their hunger and pilfering propensities. But Meyer goes further. From the rather light punishments prescribed for women in case of adultery Meyer concludes that Brahmin women were as a rule unchaste. We are indebted to Meyer for this remarkable conclusion. But Meyer's theorising spirit is not yet satisfied. The Brahmins in his opinion continued to lead the nomadic life of their forefathers, the Indo-Aryans, and carried on their glorious pilfering expeditions even after the other classes of the people had settled down to peaceful life (see p. 334). Nothing of what Meyer says in support of this theory may be called 'proof.' Meyer argues that the Brahmins recommended hospitality to the householders simply because they themselves were in need of it and why should they need it if they were not vagrants and rovers by profession ? The word *vrātya* has always been a puzzle to the scholars. Our author, however, takes the word *vrātya* (from *vrāta* "band") to be equivalent to Brāhmaṇa simply on the strength of a passage in Āp. even though any number of texts may be quoted to prove that this word signifies

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a man of the first three classes who had lost his caste owing to the non-performance of the Saṃskāras and from this Meyer finds a support to his theory that the Brahmins were gypsies roving about in bands. Such theories can be expected only of the author who after studying in details all the Dharmaśāstras concludes that the one lesson the works on Dharma have to teach is that women may be enjoyed by all men and they themselves may enjoy all—this says Meyer (p. 342).[1] Here is another preposterous theory of Meyer, which, however, he has not tried to substantiate by a single passage from the Smṛtis, evidently because it is impossible to do so, for no such passage can be found in the Smṛtis. On the other hand, we have long sermons about the sanctity of the conjugal bed, perhaps too many of them, e.g. M. 9, 29-30, Vi. 25, Yājñ. 1,75, etc.

In spite of the patience and industry exhibited by Meyer in this work one cannot but deplore that his vision is so hopelessly vitiated. He would deprive the Brahmins even of common human instincts. They are, in his opinion, roving gypsies without any morals or principle of life who entertained the people by their skill as bards (p. 341). This theory too is supported by no positive proof but merely by Meyer's anthropological speculations. Who knows better than Meyer himself how intensely the bards, actors and soothsayers were hated in ancient India and in what dark colours the Brāhmaṇical authors have painted them ? But above everything else the Brahmins are magicians in Meyer's opinion and so the author begins his book with the statement "Die Dharmaschriften könnten ebensogut Zauberbücher heissen" [The works on Dharma could as well be called books on magic]. Evidently Meyer considers the Brahmins to be magicians simply because the Brāhmaṇical authors of the Smṛtis have recorded in their works numerous superstitions of ancient India, all of which, in Meyer's view, are connected with magic in some way or othar. Now Abbé Dubois too has written a book on the customs and usages of the people of India and has necessariiy noted down many superstitious practices current in India at his time. Shall we, therefore, say that the well known book "People of India" is a book on magic and that Abbé Dubois himself was a great magician ? There is no difference between Abbé Dubois and the Smṛti-writers in this respect ; only this

1 Die Lehre der brahmanischen Schriften vom Dharma.....ist disese : das Weib darf von allen Männern genossen werden und darf selber alle geniessen.

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much may be said that Dubois himself was quite free from the superstitions he was studying whereas these Brāhmaṇical authors lived in awe of them and observed them all with scrupulous care.

Meyer travels through the wilderness of the Dharma literature with the magic lamp in his hand (see p. 26) and with the help of its uncertain light he makes absurd discoveries. He discovers that considerations of decorum are only secondary in the detailed rules of conduct to be found in the Smṛtis (p. 11). He discovers that the God Agni is the camp-fire of the naked Brahmin vagrants shivering with cold, he discovers that the Atharvaveda is the proper Veda of the Brahmins (p. 343) and he discovers that the nobler portions of the Ṛgveda are the compositions of the Kṣatriyas (p. 388). The real meaning of Āpastamba 1, 32, 6, was till now unknown to us and only this magic lamp makes it clear for the first time. Āpastamba here says "At night the husband should always adorn himself for his wife." However tender it may sound our author will not be misled—he has based his belief on the firm rock of magic. Why, the woman is the veritable depôt of magical danger and what is there more effective to avert it than flowers and gold ornaments ? Surely absurdity cannot go further !

In this way Meyer has proved "unwiderleglich" that the Smṛti literature is a literature of magic (preface, p.vi). But Meyer does not say this about his remarkable theory about the Brahmins and this shows that he himself feels some uneasiness about it and that is some consolation. It is quite clear that Meyer had not enough time to think when he wrote his book—it is only necessary to glance at his preface in which he seriously modifies some of his important theories. But Meyer's method of work too is faulty. The usual and natural method is to draw the conclusion after duly considering all the materials having any bearing on the topic on hand. But Meyer's method is quite different. His conclusion is a foregone affair and his whole book is an attempt to find support for his theory. He starts with the assumption that Ancient India was a magic-ridden country and begins his journey with the magic-lamp in hand and its treacherous light is responsible for no small share of the absurdities in his book.

BATAKRISHNA GHOSH

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Notes on Dravidian

I. The Affix 'ku' in Dravidian.

The affix *ku* is a very common ending in Dravidian, existing in North Dravidian and South Dravidian equally. Its occurrence in the various dialects of Dravidian may be classified as hereunder :

(*a*) Infinitives of verbs contain in varying degrees in the different dialects the affix *ku* or *gu* or variations of these (doubled *kk* or derived *ś* or *c*).

In Tamil, the formative *ku* is sometimes appended to the infinitive as in śeyga, aṛiga, pōga etc.

In Malayalam, ka or kka is added similarly to form the infinitive invariably e. g. naṭakka, eṭukka, pōka, varika etc.

The infinitive in Brahui is formed with the addition of *—ing* which contains the *gu*-affix e.g. saling (to go) ; ca-ing (to understand) etc.

The infinitive in Kuvi also has ki added to it sometimes e.g. kazki (to bite) from the root kaz.

(*b*) Appended formatives of verbs have ku or gu in Dravidian e.g. Tamil verbs like adaṅgu, *iṛaṅgu*, vēgu, poṅgu etc ; Telegu verbs like erugū, vēgu, miḷagu, kalaṅgu etc. Malayalam verbs like *kuluṅṅu*, *poṅṅu* etc. Kuvi ning (move), dung (hang), hunz (sleep) etc.

(*c*) gu appears uniformly in the characteristic present-tense ending of Tamil as in Śeyyugindren[1] etc.

Verb Roots in Telegu which have permanently incorporated tsu (< *ku*) show tsu in all tenses e. g. naḍatsutsunnānu etc.

K (< *ku*) appears in Goṇḍi in the first and second personal endings of the future tense e. g. kiakā, kiaki (I will do, thou wilt do).

Tōḍa, an uncultivated Dravidian dialect of the south shows *ku* in the present tense forms as in pōkom (we go) etc.

Kōṭa also shows *k* in present tense forms like hōgako (they go); vindkene (I ask) etc. Old Kannaḍa future māḍugum (will do) and old Tamil Śeygu (will do) also show *gu*.

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[1] Kittel's explanation of the Tamil present ending-gindr-, accepted by Caldwell also, is that it is compounded of the affix *k*+endrai (today) ; this is merely fanciful ; really,

Gindru < *k*+*iru* (with the spontaneous nasal *n* appearing before Tamil *r* as in ondru)...*ir*...(to be or to remain) confers the idea of the present tense and *k* (> *g*) denotes action.

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Kurukh shows *k* in the past tense forms as in ānkan (I said), barśkan (I came) etc.

(*d*) Nouns derived from verbs show ku, ki, gu or gi in most of the Dravidian dialects :

Tamil : naḍakkei, pōgei, veigei, aṛigei etc.
Telegu : korika, cerika, ennika etc.
Kannaḍa : nacike, nambige, eccerike etc.
Kui : haki, liki, gedki etc.
Kui : vejgu (food) ≺ vay (to cook).

(*e*) Endings of *directive* words show ku or gu in many dialects.

Tamil : vaḍakku (north) ; mērku (west) ; aṅge (there) ; iṅge (here) etc.
Telegu : akka-ṭa (there) ; ikka-ṭa (here)
Kannaḍa : ıga (here) ; āga (there)
Goṇḍi : hoka (there) ; hika (here) ; hink (from this place) ; hank (from that place) etc.
Tuḷu : inci (here) ; anci (there) (c ≺ k)
Kuvi : taki (up to)
Brahui : darek (here) ; daṅgi (in this direction) etc.
Kui imbanki (hither), imbateka (from this place) etc.

(*f*) Dative terminations in all Dravidian dialects show *ku, gu, ki, gi, ke* or *ge.*

The major dialects (Tamil, Telegu, Kannaḍa and Malayāḷam) invariably use this termination, Telegu Malayāḷam and old Kannaḍa using *ku,* and Tamil and modern Kannaḍa using *gu* or *ge,* and occasionally kku (following euphonic changes).

Tuḷu : maroku etc.
Koḍagu : marakk'
Kui : *Sannuku* hommu hittomi (we gave money to Sannu)
Gōṇḍi : kautke (through the ear) ; idke (for the sake of)
Brahui : Dative of Interest shows *ki* e.g. *kharās-ki* (for the bull) ; urā-ki (for the house) etc. The peculiar Brahui locatives-ilk,- esk ; -ilka -eska show also the Dravidian *k*, probably with a directive meaning here.
Kurukh Dative ending is ge as in alas ge (to the man) etc.

(*g*) Denominatives and causals are formed in *Kuvi* with the addition of *ki* to verbal roots e.g. *Zolikitee* (I let speak) from *Zōlitee* (I spoke) ; kuggikiteri (they let sit) from kuggiteri (they sit) etc.

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(*h*) In certain nouns in Tamil like *maṅgai*, *taṅgai* and *naṅgai*, and in Kuvi like *maṅgai* and *taṅgai*, the *ge* should be related to the usual affix ku.

Such a uniformly wide and general occurrence of this affix should lead us to seek for its origin in some elementary primitive native root. Caldwell and other Dravidian philologers gave up the task of tracing its origin in despair. A very close examination of the occurrence of the affix and of the modifications of meaning which it induces in the various positions in which it is found as indicated above, would reveal that this affix is only an attenuated form of the elementary Dravidian root kai which has a verbal and noun sense at the same time—*kai* or *kei* appears as Śei in some dialects. In all the dialects this root means "to do" and "hand", the relationship between the two meanings being much the same as that between Sanskrit *kṛ* and *kara* (कृ and कर).

	To do	*Hand*	
Tamil :	Śei	*kai* or kei	the *Ś* or *c* of the forms is evidently the palatalised resultant of initial *k*.
Telegu :	cey	ceyyu	
Kannaḍa :	gey	gay	
Kuvi :	ki	kai	
Koḍagu :	gey	geyyu	
Tōḍa :	Śey	Śeyyu	
Brahui	ka-ning	du[1]	
Gōṇḍi	ki	kajgu	
Kurukh	ki	khēkkha	

Expressing as this root *kai* or *kei* does, very elementary ideas of "doing" and of "hand" (which are closely connected semantically and which should have originated at a very primitive stage of Dravidian), it is easy to see that this root should have given rise to the various meanings of "doing", "giving" "helping" etc. which are suggested by above-mentioned instances containing ku, ke, gu or ge.

The verbal meaning "to do" is evident in the infinitives, in the formative appendix in the derivative nouns, in the present tense forms, in the Tamil and old Kannaḍa future etc.

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1 Brahui du < dji < ji < śei, just as Brahui dēr (who) < djær < jær < śār < yār < y̆ār < ār.

Compare Tuḷu and Kannaḍa dāne (alternating with djāne, the middle stage) where also initial *d* should be explained as above.

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The noun-idea arising from the verbal action accounts for the meaning of derivative nouns like kaḍugu, merugu, and paṅgu in Tamil ; ennika, eccerika etc. in Kannaḍa and Telegu.

The adverbial idea arising from "to do" is contained in the directive adverbs which we have cited above.

The dativel idea easily results from the idea of "hand" which *kai* means in Dravidian. "Giving" implies the idea of "placing in another's hand. On this basis, the dativel meaning of ku, ke, gu, ge, ki or gi is also explicable. The change in the included vowel and the appearance of the sonant g are common phenomena in Dravidian.

The affix, therefore, should ultimately be traced to the elementary Dravidian root *kai* or *kei* which in unaccented and unintoned positions assumed attenuated forms.

II. The Plural ending 'kaḷ' or 'gaḷ' in Dravidian :

Kaḷ or *gaḷ* is a common plural ending in Dravidian. The *-r* plurals in most Dravidian dialects are epicene and limited mainly to "rationals" and in some cases to "male humans" only.

In Tamil and Malayāḷam, it appears as the plural ending of neuter nouns e.g. maraṅgal, vīḍugal etc.

In Kannaḍa, very much the same use is common in instances like gurugaḷ, maragaḷ.

In Tuḷu, the ending appears as *kuḷu* or guḷu e. g. yenkuḷu (we) ; marokuḷu (trees) etc.

In *Koḍagu* and *Kasava*, the ḷ drops off and the ending appears as *ka* or *ga* as in vîḍuga, aveiga etc.

In *Kuvi*, *Kui* and *Gōṇḍi*, the aḷ drops off and plurals are formed with the simple addition of k e.g. Goṇḍi : naik (dogs) ; *Kuvi-kui* : ilka (houses) ; palka (teeth) ; kalka (stones) ; waska (fingers) etc.

In *Brahui*, k alone appears in the nominative plural, while t is used in the oblique cases :

e. g. paṭk (fruits) ; *kh*alk (stones) ; *kh*ank (eyes) etc.

In Kui, generally speaking, the male rationals have the *-r* plural, while all the rest have *ka*, *nga* or *ska* (*s* here being from *y* < *ỹ* the palatal glide after the terminal vowel of the root as in *Kodi-s-ka*.

Kurukh neuter plural is guṭhi or guṭi which probably comes from the Dravidian root kuḍ (to join) which is cognate with koḷ and koḍ ; compare Kurukh kūṭi (alongside of) and gūṭi (up till). Compare also

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Bengali guṭa (to gather up as in a net or line) whose origin, along with that of ṭāngi (hang high = Dravidian taṅg ?), according to Dr. S. K. Chatterjee, remains obscure. Could not Dravidian influence be postulated here ?

The origin of the Dravidian plural ending has not been satisfactorily explained. The relationship with Bengali गुलि cannot stand, as the Bengali affix can be explained as being of sanskritic origin. Caldwell suggests other extra-Dravidian affinities, but all of them remain unsupported by positive evidence.

In my opinion, the idea of plurality so essential to the language even in its most primitive stages could not have been expressed by a borrowed word. The native Dravidian root koḷ (meaning "to take on") can give rise easily to the idea of addition or plurality. Indeed, the derivative noun koḷḷei in Tamil has the meaning of "group" or collection, and, further, *koḷ* or *kuḷ* has the meanining of "much" or "whole" in Brahui.

Koḷ, then, affixed at the ends of words, would easily confer the idea of plurality. The disappearance of stress from the word in the unaccented position should have led to the change of the included vowel *o* to *a* or *e* in dialects like Tamil, Kannaḍa and Malayāḷam, to the dropping-off of ḷ in *Koḍagu* and *Kasava*, to the dropping-off of aḷ in the Central Indian Dravidian and Brahui, and to the falling-off of the initial k in most Telegu nouns.

III. "House" in Dravidian

(*a*) Tamil has the following forms :

(1) vīḍu (2) illam (3) manei (4) kuḍi (5) agam (6) iḍam (7) paḷḷi.

(*b*) Malayāḷam whose vocabulary is, in the main, the same as that of Tamil, has, besides the above, the following additional forms which are more or less developments peculiar to Malabar:

(1) māṭam (2) pura (3) pārppiṭam (4) irippiṭam (5) kuṭil (6) eṭuppu.

(*c*) Kannaḍa has the following native forms :

(1) illu (2) imbu (3) bīḍu (4) mane (5) guḍi (6) nele (7) paḍḷi (8) ikke (9) hakke (10) poḷal.

(*d*) Telegu :

(1) illu (2) uniki (3) nilaya (4) bīḍu.

(*e*) Kui has iḍ

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(*f*) Kuvi has il
(*g*) Kulukh „ e r p a
(*h*) Brahui „ u r a
(*i*) Goṇḍi „ i j ; r o (which is the metathetical form of u r or ū r.
(*j*) Iruḷa „ kure
(*k*) Kurumba „ Mane,bīḍu etc.
(*l*) Kasava „ vuttu ; hatti
(*m*) Baḍaga „ pei
(*n*) Toḍa „ pol
(*o*) Koḍaga „ mane etc.

These uncultivated dialects of South India possess, besides the common forms given here, many other forms borrowed from the major dialects of the South.

The most common amongst the Tamil forms now in use in common parlance is v ɪ ḍ u; in Kannaḍa and Telegu, however, this word has become archaic. V ī ḍ u comes from the root viḍ (to separate, to leave) in accordance with a Dravidian law which regulates the derivation of nouns from verb roots with short vowels. The meaning is to be traced to the idea of houses being "left" in the absolute possession of the owner by the king or the ruler who is nominally the owner of everything in the land. The idea of enfranchisement of residential property, suggestive of a very primitive yet civilised state of society, lurks in the word.

It may incidentally be remarked here that the derivation i l (place) >i ḍ >v˘ i ḍ >v ɪ ḍ is wrong, since there is no rule warranting such a lengthening of the vowel, though the prosthetic v˘ >v could be accounted for. V ɪ ḍ appears dialectally as v ū ḍ and v u ṭ ṭ u, which latter form is found in Kasava commonly.

A very common form in the conversational dialects of certain Tamil classes and communities is ā m, derived from agam, an old Tamil word for house which appears in combinations like agamuḍayan (>agambuḍayan >āmbiḍayān) meaning *husband*. agam>aham >aam>ām. akam or a X am appears with the specialised meaning of *room* in common modern Malayāḷam. Conversational ām appears also in Kasava with an initial aspirate, in hattili (*in the house*).

Illam and manei are archaic, generally, in Tamil while in Malayāḷam they denote the houses of certain "superior" castes like the Namboodiries.

Illam is, of course, to be derived from il (place) with the addition of the characteristic Tamil consonant-lengthening and neuter ending—am.

Manei is from man which means earth or that which is spread out, coming from the verb root man (to exist) which in its turn is traceable finally to the elementary root uḷ (*place* or to *exist*). See *poste*.

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Iḍam has to be traced to the root il which alternates with iḍ, as in the Kui-Kuvi dialects.

Kuḍi connotes the idea of congregation or something put together, which the root kuḍ signifies. In Malayāḷam, the word appears with -il added on. The term kuḍi, both in Tamil and Malayāḷam, is used to mean a small house, usually of poor people. The Dravidian word has been adopted with a specialised meaning by Sanskrit in kuṭīr. In Kannaḍa guḍi, the intervocal surd has sonantised the initial surd, a common assimilative change in Telegu and middle and modern Kannaḍa.

The Malayāḷam word pura has the meaning of "house", by a process of metonymic extension. Literally it means "that which is outside" (≺root pir, a common Dravidian root), then "roof" and thence it has come to mean everything which the roof encloses, i.e., *house*. Very careful specialisation is observed in Malayāḷam in the use of the words *mana*, *illam*, pura, māṭam and paḷḷi; while the first two are used to denote the house of a Namboodiri exclusively, pura is applied to a hut, māṭam to the house of "low-caste" men, and paḷḷi is a house of God, belonging to non-Hindus, the Hindu temple being called Ambala which originally denoted the meeting-place of men (anbu+illa, *place of spiritual love*), generally in Malabar, the temple.

Māṭam comes from the root māḍ (to make or do); the verb root is lost in modern Malayāḷam except in one group of contexts: māṭṭam, māṭuka (to raise a platform for the fence) etc.

Pārpiṭam is a common term in dignified Malayāḷam for "house". Pārpiṭam≺pār+vu+iṭam, the vu being the suffix conferring the abstract idea of "living" on pār which means in Dravidian "*world*" or "*earth*."

Similarly, irrippiṭam≺ir+vu+iṭam, ir meaning "to remain." The Kurukh word erpa is the same, with e for i.

Iruḷa kure comes from kuḍi, with r instead of ḍ, a common change in the rude dialects of the South.

Toḍa pol, meaning *house*, is very suggestive. It comes from the word poḷam (*field*), the common meaning of pol, i.e., *house* suggests the Toḍa custom of constructing huts by the side of fields. Poḷal in old Kannaḍa has the derivative meaning 'house." Tamil poḷal has a very generalised meaning "earth."

Uniki in Telegu comes from the root uḷ (to exist). Ki is an ending of derivative nouns in Telegu and so uniki has come to mean: "that which exists or is the property of one," viz., "house." Brahui ura is

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probably cognate with Tamil ur (country) and kurukh urbas (master).

Gôṇḍi ro is very closely connected metathetically with ur or ūr; compare Gôṇḍi to (place) from Dravidian uḷ. Kannaḍa ikkc ∴ irke ≺ir+ke, ke being the suffix derivative of nouns as in nambige, nachike etc. Kannaḍa nele and Telegu nilaya are from the root nil (to stand).

Kannaḍa paḍle shows the origin of the word paḷḷi which has come to be a common suffix in Dravidian place-names. Paḍḷi is to be traced to th root paḍ (to lie). The connection between the meaning of this root and residential structures which are made of material "laid" one over another, is obvious.

Kannaḍa hakke (residence)≺ haḍke≺ paḍukke (bed)

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UMESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARJEE.—*The Home of the Upaniṣads.* In opposition to the view held by some scholars that the land of the Kuru-Pañcālas was the home of culture in the Vedic period, the author of this paper has adduced evidences to prove that Videha-Magadha also was a prominent centre of intellectual culture at that time and that the *Brahmavidyā* of the Upaniṣads had its home in the country of Videha-Magadha.

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D. R. BHANDARAKAR.—*The Antiquity of the Idea of Cakravartin.*

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R. R. HALDAR.—*Who were the Imperial Pratihāras of Kanouj.* According to this note the Imperial Pratihāras of Kanouj belonged to the Solar (Raghu's) race and not to the Gurjara clan ; so it is erroneous to describe them as Gurjara-Pratihāras.

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The Last Campaign of Shivaji

I

We learn from the *Basatin-i-salatin*, a modern Persian history of Bijapur, which has been proved to be remarkably accurate when compared with absolutely contemporary sources, that on 18th August, 1679, the Mughal general Dilir Khan crossed the river Bhima at Dhulkhed (40 miles north of Bijapur city) and opened a campaign against the kingdom of Bijapur. Siddi Masaud, the regent of the boys Sultan Sikandar Adil Shah, appealed to Shivaji, as a hereditary baron of the State, for his aid in this danger. Shivaji promptly undertook the defence of the Adil Shah. The first Maratha detachment of 10,000 men soon arrived,—one half at Ainapur and the other half at Bhupalgarh, ready to reach Bijapur at call.

On 7th October, Dilir Khan reached Baratgi (6 miles north-east of Bijapur city) and halted there for some time, holding discussions with the Bijapuri regent's envoys. On the 30th of that month, Shivaji himself arrived at Selgur, a place midway between Panhala and Bijapur, with a second army of 10,000 men. His first army joined him from the environs of Bijapur city.

On 4th November, he divided his army into two bodies; he himself with eight or nine thousand troopers started by way of Muslah and Almala, and his general Anand Rao, with 10,000 cavalry, by way of Mān and Sangula, to raid the

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Mughal dominions northwards, so as to draw away Dilir Khan from the neighbourhood of Bijapur for the defence of his own province. [*Basatin*, lithographed ed., pp. 491-497.]

So far there is no conflict among our historical authorities. But the incidents of Shivaji's life from this date (4th November, 1679) to his death (3rd April, 1680) are uncertain and diversely narrated. An attempt will be made here to critically examine the extant sources of information and reconstruct the history of these five months.

II

The next incident, after Shivaji's dash northwards on 4th November, is thus recorded :

"In the month of Kartik, śaka 1601 (=25 Oct.—23 Nov. 1679), Shivaji raided Jalna-pur. There he fought with Ranmast Khan. Shidhoji Nimbalkar was killed by a gun-shot. Shivaji returned to Raigarh *via* Patta". (*Jedheyanchi Shakavali*).

Details about the battle are given in the Sabhasad *bakhar* (3rd ed., p.92), agreeing with the above in regard to names but without any date. This author tells us that Shivaji made a precipitate retreat by forced marches in order to avoid being enveloped by the Mughals.

The Bombay Council wrote to the Surat Council on 29th November, 1679 : "Shivaji Rajah is now at a place called Patta-garh, about five days' journey from hence, to which he fled with 500 horse to secure himself, having lost the greatest part of his army near Bijapur, where Dilir Khan engaged him, wholly routed him, and took 2,000 horse besides prisoners etc..... The Peshwa is gone to him...The Peshwa was intended for Surat, but the overthrow he received by one Ranmast Khan, a Pathan, who killed him 2,000 men and took 400 horse, which diverted him." [*Factory Records*, Surat, vol. 108].

Now, the statements made above (and repeated by Orme

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on p. 84) that Dilir defeated Shivaji near Bijapur and Ranmast Khan defeated the Peshwa, are not correct, because all the other sources tell us that Ranmast Khan fought Shivaji (and not the Peshwa) at Jalna, 40 miles east of Aurangabad (and not near Bijapur). An encounter between Shivaji and Dilir himself after 4th November is nowhere mentioned, and is entirely improbable as Dilir was pinned down to the neighbourhood of Bijapur for several months after that date and Shivaji moved away far to the north.

The battle took place near Jalna, and the *Tarikh-i-Shivaji* (a Persian translation of a Marathi original, made in the middle of the 18th century) states that Ranmast Khan Pani was an officer (*mutaina*) posted at Jalna.

The Surat Council wrote to Bombay on 13th December, "The advice you gave us of Shivaji and his Peshwa being routed by the King's [*i.e.*, Aurangzib's] army in two several encounters is here quite contrary reported, and which we have more reason to credit, from his ravaging this country." [*Orme Mss. 116*].

So, we may conclude that the Peshwa never fought Ranmast Khan in November, 1679. Shivaji's raid on Jalna may be dated, with a fair approximation, as having happened on 16th or 17th November, judging from the various *data* given in the Bombay letter. He reached Patta on 22nd Nov. if not earlier.

III

The Marathi sources tell us that Shivaji, after his forced and disastrous retreat from Jalna, rested for some time at Patta, which he therefore newly named *Vishrām-garh* (the Fort of Repose).

The next question is, where did Shivaji spend the month of December? It is true that his armies burst into Khandesh and Berar towards the close of November and the first

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week of December, but there are reasons for holding that Shivaji was not in command of them.

A Surat factory consultation records that in the night of 7th December news was brought to that city of the Marathas (the word used is "Sevagees" as a common noun, according to the then practice of the European traders) having burnt and plundered Dharangaon ("Dungom"), Chopra and many other large towns near them in Khandesh. (*F.R.*, Surat, vol. 4).

On 6th December, the Rajapur factors write to Surat: "Shivaji's forces ... approaching these parts ... By three o'clock in the afternoon of 26th November, the town was all of a flame. The army which consisted of 12,000 horse kept their rendezvous here two days, and then set forward towards Burhanpur, but never went so far, but turned off more to the right hand, towards Malkapur, where Shivaji himself with 20,000 horse more are to meet [them]" (*F.R.*, Surat, vol. 108).

The Rajapur factors further write to Surat on 16th December: "News here is altogether uncertain,... whither Shivaji is gone with his whole army 'tis not certainly known." They add on 30th December: "Shivaji Rajah is returned, but with no small loss, reported to be above 4000 horse, commanded by one Hummedbough,[1] who himself was very much wounded. The Rajah is now bound up to Panhala. The Rajah fortifies Panhala very strong." (*F. R.*, Surat, vol.108).

This fortification of Panhala, with guns taken from other forts, is mentioned also in a Karwar letter of 24th Nov. (*Ibid.*).

Anand Rao's division, we know, had made a dash into

1 This word is not Hamid Beg, but most probably Anand Rao. *Bough* is a copyist's error for *Rough* (=Row), and in some other places in the India Office records I have found *Anand* written as *Amand*. As for the alternative of *Hummed* being=*Hambir*, that commander is not mentioned by any authority as taking part in these campaigns.

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Mughal territory from Selgur on 4th November, moving parallel to that led by Shivaji himself. The former must have penetrated into Khandesh, in the last week of November, as Shivaji was at Patta during the last fortnight of that month. Did the general meet with a reverse on the way back from Khandesh ? Orme (p. 84) is wrong in saying that Shivaji led this raid into "the country between Aurangabad and Burhanpur...setting off from Rairi in the beginning of December."

There was one strong reason why Shivaji was disinclined to leave his own dominions on his return from Jalna. His son Shambhuji had run away from him and gone over to Dilir Khan (13th December, 1678). The two had captured Shivaji's fort of Bhupalgarh (2nd April, 1679) and sacked the Bijapuri city of Athni on 20th November. Here, in spite of Sambhuji's objection, Dilir sold the inhabitants, "who were all Hindus" into slavery. The Maratha prince, in disgust, left his Mughal ally and went back to Bijapur (21st), with Dilir on his heels. In the night of the 30th Nov., he slipped out of Bijapur city and escaped to his father's dominions, arriving at Panhala about the 4th of December next.

Shivaji was in great anxiety during his rebel son's stay in Dilir's camp, and especially during their march westwards for his own dominion, *viz.*, in November 1679.

On 16th December, the Rajapur factors write : "Shambhuji Rajah is gone into Panhala castle,...supposed to be called by his father." They add on the 30th, "Shivaji Rajah is now bound up to Panhala, whither Dilir Khan is now bent."

The Bombay Council, on 1st January 1680, confirm the report, adding, "Shivaji Rajah is gone to Panhala to meet his son."

The *Jedhe Shakavali* gives 13th January as the date of the meeting between the father and the son.

Shivaji could not have been out on campaign in the middle or end of December, as the English of Bombay were constantly corresponding with him during this period and

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receiving his replies with fair regularity. They write that on the 20th they received a letter from him, and another on the 29th, adding, "we have all along kept on a treaty with Shivaji" (*F. R*, Surat, vol. 108).

The evidence, therefore, points to the conclusion that Shivaji did not personally lead any expedition after his retreat from Jalna in the second half of November, 1679.

He spent January, 1680 at Panhala, meeting and trying to reason with Shambhuji and to make an amicable settlement between his two heirs. In March he had Rajaram invested with the sacred thread and also married. Therefore, he was free to march during February only.

I, therefore, cannot accept the following statement of Orme (*Hist. Frag.* London edition of 1805, p. 89), as true, because he does not quote any authority for it, and I have found no corroboration of it in any Persian, Marathi, or English record of the time. The period of the alleged raid, judging by Orme's context, could not possibly be earlier than March, 1680 :

"Shivaji was gone from Rairi, but no one knew whither ; a convoy of money to a great amount was coming to Aurangabad, of which..... ..he received early intelligence.....He issued with a detachment of his hardiest cavalry, remote from all the Mughal stations, and fell upon the convoy before his approach was known, within a few miles of Burhanpur. He seized the whole and brought it without interruption to Rairi. But the excessive strain of fatigue...caused an inflammation in his breast, attended with spitting of blood",—of which he died.

"At this very time, his army towards Surat was acting with such ravage and hostility up to the walls,...that the governor paid a large contribution, with which Moro Pandit returned to Raiii to see his master die."

But this levying of blackmail from Surat may agree with what we know of the month of November or December, 1679 and not the month of March, 1680, immediately before

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Shivaji's death. It is unlikely that the Peshwa was absent from Raigarh at the marriage of Rajaram (15th March) or his investiture with the sacred thread (7th).

The Bombay Council wrote to Surat, on 28th April: "We have certain news that Shivaji Rajah is dead, it is now 23 days since he deceased, 'tis said of a bloody flux, being sick 12 days." (*F.R.*, Surat, vol. 108). From this Orme infers the day of his death to be 5th April.

Therefore, the most probable chronology of the last five months of Shivaji's life would be as follows :

4 Nov. 1679.	Sets out from Selgur northwards to raid Mughal Deccan.
16-18 Nov.	Three days' battle near Jalna.
21 Nov.	Reaches Patta and halts there for a fortnight.
C. 1 Dec.	Dharangaon (E. Khandesh) robbed by Maratha troops.
5-25 Dec.	Shivaji stays at Raigarh.
4 Dec.	Shambhuji returns to Panhala.
I January 1680.	Shivaji goes to Panhala.
13 Jan.	Shivaji meets Shambhuji.
7 March.	Shivaji at Raigarh, invests Rajaram with the sacred thread.
15 March.	Rajaram married at Raigarh.
21 March.	Shivaji's last illness begins.
3 April.	Death of Shivaji (*Jedhe Shakavali*).

JADUNATH SARKAR

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The Two Mīmamsas

Aśvalāyana-gṛhya-sūtra (i. 13. 1.) says : "The ceremonies of *Garbhālambhana* (also called *Garbhādhāna* or fructification of the seed), *Puṃsavana* (or turning the fœtus into a male), and *Anavalobhana* (or safety of the fœtus) are given in Upaniṣad." On this, the *Vṛtti* of Gārgya Nārāyaṇa comments : "These ceremonies are heard of in a certain Upaniṣad ; not only these but other things as well, beginning with the conception of a child up to the attainment of the knowledge of the Ātman or soul, are spoken of (there). In our *Śākhā*, such an Upaniṣad does not exist. (But in so far as it occurs in an Upaniṣad), the injunction is binding and the ceremony ought to be performed ; this is what is admonished by the Sūtra."

As understood by the commentator, this Sūtra (i. 13. 1) recommends that the ceremonies of *Garbhādhāna* and the rest, should be performed. But it is only a recommendation and not an absolute command ; for, under the next Sūtra, the commentator says that the ceremony of *Garbhādhāna* has not been expressly enjoined by the Ācārya, and so according to some, it at any rate need not be performed ; according to others, however, it also should be performed ; and as to the other ceremonies, certain substitutes have been prescribed. This second Sūtra is introduced by the commentator with the following remarks :

"tasya utsannatvād yadi taṃ nādhīyāt tata evaṃ kuryād ity āha."

The meaning is this : "If owing to its disappearance from this *Śākhā*, an Upaniṣad prescribing the above-mentioned rites is not recognised, then what should be done is as follows."

Now what does all this mean ? It implies that the *Śākhā* to which Āśvalāyana belonged, had no Upaniṣad in which

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Garbhādhāna etc. are spoken of; but there was an *Upaniṣad* of this description belonging to some other *Śākhā*. And in so far as the ceremonies were mentioned in a Vedic text, he could not but refer to them. The *Upaniṣad* is not named; but the reference here seems to be to the sixth chapter of the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, where details of these ceremonies are given. Āśvalāyana's reference to it invests it with an authority even for those who did not belong to the *Śākhā* for which it was the *Upaniṣad*. But at the same time, it is admitted that so far as Āśvalāyana's own *Śākhā* was concerned, people were free to discard some of these ceremonies: which means that its authority was not absolute.

The *Garbhādhāna* proper is spoken of in *Bṛhad.*, vi. 4. But in the preceding section (vi. 3.), another preparatory ceremony is described. Śaṅkara calls it '*smārta*' (*non*-Vedic) as distinguished from '*śrauta*' (Vedic): "smārtaṃ hīdaṃ mantha-karma; nanu śruti-vihitaṃ sat kathaṃ smārtaṃ bhavitum arhati? smṛtyanuvādinī hi śrutiriyam." Although this rite is prescribed in a *śruti* text, yet this text, he says, merely repeats a *smṛti* custom and sanctions a rite which was to be performed with the ordinary domestic fire. Now what Śaṅkara says about the *mantha-karman* or the rite preliminary to the *Garbhādhāna*, applies, it seems, to the latter rite as well which is described in the next section of the same chapter of the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*.

We should remember here that all the *Sūtras—Gṛhya*, *Śrauta* as well as *Dharma*—are unrevealed: they are all *smṛtis* and not *śrutis*. And their authority is only the authority of a *smṛti* which can be followed only when it does not directly contravene a *śruti*. The rites which they prescribe are called '*smārta*' rites. But usually, for example, in the case of *Aśvamedha*, *Vājapeya*, and also in the case of the *āśramas*, *śruti* texts are available for what is prescribed in the *smṛtis*. In fact, it is ultimately the *śrutis* which invest the *Sūtras* with authority.

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With regard to *Garbhādhāna*, *śruti* text is available in chap. vi. of the *Bṛhad.* The *Gṛhyasutras* recognise the rite generally. Yet Śaṅkara calls it a *smārta* rite ; and the *Āśvalāyana-gṛhyasūtra* makes it optional for its *śākhā*. Obviously, the authority of this section of *śruti*, viz., chap. vi. of *Bṛhad.* is very much shaken thereby. Śaṅkara has not the courage to declare the text as non-*śruti* ; in his time, this was impossible. But what is more regrettable is that he cannot even call it non-*Upaniṣadic* ; yet, this is what he should have done, only if he could. But we should not forget that Āśvalāyana also calls it an *Upaniṣad*, knowing full well that it is speaking not of *ātmavidyā* but of some ceremony to be performed. Obviously, therefore, for Āśvalāyana, for Śaṅkara and for many others, the term *Upaniṣad* did not stand for philosophic texts only ; it was the name given to a portion of *śruti* literature, which included philosophical texts as well as Brāhmaṇical prescriptions of religious rites.

That the name *Upaniṣad* was applied to portions of the Vedas which were not necessarily exclusively connected with philosophical speculation, is proved by other considerations also. In *Drāhyāyana-gṛhya-sūtra*, ii. 5. 38., as interpreted by Rudraskanda, we are told that the portion of the Vedas which was to be studied along with the *Upaniṣad-vrata*, began with *deva savitar* and ended with *na ca punar āvartate.* As the name implies, *Upaniṣad-vrata* was a vow to be kept while the *Upaniṣads* were being studied. So far as the *Upaniṣad* of the Chandogas was concerned, according to Rudraskanda, it began with *deva savitar* and ended with *na ca punar āvarttate.* Now, this last line is the last line of the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad ;* but the first is not the first of that Upaniṣad. We find here, then, that within the course of study initiated by the *Upaniṣad-vrata*, more was included than a mere *Upaniṣad* as we know it now. Hence the name *Upaniṣad* does not appear to have applied to selected books only of *śruti* literature, to which we give this name now.

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The sixth chapter of the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* is remarkable in more ways than one. Besides treating of the *Garbhādhāna* ceremony, which has little to do with the *ātmavidyā*, it deals with a number of other similar subjects, e.g.,

(i) means for attracting the wife's attention ;
(ii) contraception ; (iii) conception ;
(iv) means for getting rid of wife's lovers ;
(v) begetting sons of different complexions and capacities, etc. ; (vi. 4. 9-18).

Surely, these by no stretch of imagination and no amount of explication can be brought in relation with what should be included in the *ātmavidyā*. And the Vedānta philosophy had never any occasion to quote from these verses. Yet they form a part of one of the most important *Upaniṣads* and of a chapter of that book which is not at all negligible, for, it contains among other things the celebrated doctrine of *devayāna* and *pitṛyāna*. Nor can these texts be excluded from the *Upaniṣad* : no one has dared to do this and it cannot be done ; for, they are guarded by an enumeration of *vaṃśa* at the end, which shows that they, along with the preceding texts, had a long and respectable pedigree and were a part of the canonical texts of the *śākhā*.

Similar non-Upaniṣadic texts are found in some other *Upaniṣads* also. Now, this raises an important question : Were the *Upaniṣads*—the earliest among them at any rate—really independent, well-defined blocks of the mass of literature to which the generic name of *śruti* is applied, or, were they but some ill-defined fragments of that literature ? The answer must be an affirmative to the second alternative.[1] The Upaniṣads do mark an advance in thought ; and, to some extent, they may be regarded as uninfected by Vedic rituals and sacrifice : and as a matter of fact, they have been since segregated from that kind of infection. But we can hardly

1 *JASB.*, Aug. 1927, *The Upaniṣad-texts and their position in Śruti literature.*

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say that they arose entirely outside the influence of Vedic religion ; and, although they mark an advance in thought, they cannot be regarded as opposed to that religion as a matter of course. The relation between the Upaniṣads and the rest of the Vedas has been much more intimate than scholars are usually inclined to admit.

Besides, even if it be a fact that the above two sections of the Vedic literature were not produced by the same class of men and under similar intellectual and spiritual conditions, still the outstanding fact is there that in subsequent thought they were never considered as separate. There were thinkers, such as those of the Śaṅkara school, who would fain bring about a divorce between these two halves, only if they could : they needed this separation very much with a view to depreciate the value of *karma* ; yet they were unable to deny the authority of the first half of the Vedas.

The relation between the two branches of *Śruti* influenced the relation between the two Mīmāṃsā philosophies also. And the preceding remarks may have prepared us to appreciate the true and exact relation between *Pūrva* and *Uttara* Mīmāṃsās. An interesting side-light is thrown on this question by the remarks of the commentators of the *Vedānta-sūtra* in this connection. Obviously, though not professedly, the Pūrva Mīmāṃsā is based on the first section of the Vedas, viz., what is usually called the *Karmakāṇḍa* ; and the Uttara Mīmāṃsā is based, again without any express admission, but as a matter of fact, upon the second half, or *Jñānakāṇḍa*, of the same literature. Now, if the two halves of the Vedas could be looked upon as separate and separable, much more could the two Mīmāṃsās be considered as independent of each other. But how was the relation between these two philosophies understood by Indian scholars of the old orthodox schools ?

We must leave aside the *nāstika* (or, unbelieving) thinkers for whom the Vedas did not matter. But could any of those who had not openly flouted the authority of the Vedas, ever

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declare that either of the two Mīmāṃsās was useless or without authority ? However much one might decry *karma*, he could not deny its efficacy so far as the production of the effects ascribed to it by *śruti* was concerned. Those who did not want these effects, were free to employ other means for the attainment of other ends. In the same way, those who did not desire *mokṣa*, might forego the Uttara Mīmāṃsā, but they could not on that ground alone deny that it led to the knowledge which was the means for the attainment of *mokṣa*. On the other hand, the prevailing view seems to be that *śruti* contemplated two possible ends for man, viz., Happiness (*abhyudaya*) here as well as hereafter, and Salvation (*mokṣa*). And for the attainment of these two ends, two different ways also had to be followed. As to the question whether one of them was necessary for the other, opinion has differed. But both being based on *śruti*, both of them were authoritative. The relation between *jñāna* and *karma*, and, therefore, that between *Uttara* and *Pūrva* Mīmāṃsās, has been variously conceived.

In the first place, we must note that quite a number of scholiasts and expositors have openly asserted that the two Mīmāṃsās are but complementary parts of one system ; and a number of prominent Vedāntists have said that the Pūrva Mīmāṃsā is a *necessary*, logical, propædeutic to the study of the Vedānta. Thus :

(*a*) Śrīkaṇṭha says : "na vayaṃ dharma-brahma-vicāra-rūpayos śāstrayor atyanta-bhedavādinaḥ, kiṃ tu ekatva-vādinaḥ" (*Vedānta-sūtra*, i. 1. 1.).

That is, according to Śrīkaṇṭha, the two Mīmāṃsās are but one science. He is quite definite on this point. He thinks that the first *sūtra* of Jaimini marks the beginning of one compact philosophy of which the last *sūtra* of Bādarāyaṇa signifies the end. And although the first *sūtra* of Vedānta, because of the use of the word '*atha*', appears to mark a new beginning, yet, it is the beginning only of a new section of the *same śāstra* or science, and not that of an independent science.

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Such an use of the word *'atha'* he contends, is illustrated in *Mīmāṃsa-sūtra*, iii. 1. 1., which is begun with this word, though it is only a section of the Mīmāṃsā ; the employment of this word here is justified by the fact that it is an important section. Hence, the presence of the word *'atha'* in the first *sūtra* of Vedānta does not signify that it is a new and independent study ; it only means that a very important section of the science is begun. According to Śrīkaṇṭha, therefore, the two Mīmāṃsās are but two branches of the same science, viz., exposition of *śruti* ; and the first or *Pūrva* Mīmāṃsā is an indispensable prelude to the second or *Uttara* Mimāṃsā. He thus understands the first word of *Vedānta-sūtra*, viz., *atha*, as signifying that it comes *after* the *Pūrva* Mīmāṃsā.

(b) Rāmānuja does exactly the same thing. He, too, regards the two Mīmāṃśās as constituting but one science and the difference between them is just the difference between chapters or groups of chapters of the same book. Thus :

> "vakṣyati ca karma-brahma-mīmāṃsayor aikaśāstryam... ataḥ pratipipādayiṣitārtha-bhedena ṣaṭka-bhedavad adhyāya-bhedavac ca pūrvottara-mīmāṃsayor bhedaḥ".
>
> (*V-S.*, i. 1. 1)

Also :

> "mīmāṃsāśāstram 'athāto dharma-jijñāsā' (*M-S.*,i.1.1) ityārabhya 'anāvṛttiḥ śabdāt anāvṛttiḥ śabdāt' (*V-S.*, iv. 4. 22) ityevamantam" (*V-S.*, i. 1. 1).

That is, according to Rāmānuja also, there is but one Mīmāṃsā and it begins with the first *sūtra* of Jaimini and ends with the last *sūtra* of Bādarāyaṇa. The logical sequence and the order of the study of the two parts are as their respective names signify.

(c) Nimbārka does not go so far as the above two writers. But he, too, thinks that the Vedānta is a fit study for him only who has already studied the Veda with all its parts and also the *Pūrva* Mīmāṃsā. Says he :

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"atha adhīta-ṣaḍaṅga-vedena.....jijñāsita-dharma-mīmāṃsā-śāstreṇa.....etc." (*V-S.*, i. 1. 1).

That is, Brahma is to be enquired into only by one who has already read the Dharma Mīmāṃsā.

(d) Bhāskarācārya also understood the relation between the two Mīmāṃsās in more or less the same way. He understands '*atha*' in *V-S.*, i. 1. 1., to mean *after*. After what? After the Pūrva Mīmāṃsā (see his *Bhāṣya* under i. 1. 1.). He does not go so far as to categorically assert that the two Mīmāṃsās are but two chapters of the same book, as it were. Yet, he believes that one is a necessary preliminary to the study of the other. And there is certainly no opposition between them.

(e) Vallabha also recognises the fact that, after all, both the *Mīmāṃsās* being interpretation of *śruti*, they are bound to be closely related; and the inter-relation between them is so obvious that they can hardly be separated altogether. Though Vallabha is not prepared to say that Vedānta must necessarily be read *after* the Pūrva Mīmāṃsā, yet he is quite unambiguous as to their close relation; and he, too, looks upon the Vedānta as the fitting end of all enquiries about the meaning of *śruti*.

The above writers represent one of the ways in which the relation between the two *Mīmāṃsās* has been understood. Śaṅkara, however, is one of those who would not admit any necessary connection between them. Far less would he say that the study of the Vedānta was at all dependent on a previous study of the Pūrva Mīmāṃsā. On the other hand, he asserts quite definitely that *Brahma-jijñāsā* is possible even *before* karma-Mīmāṃsā. The two enquiries are so divergent that there can be no question of their inter-dependence. His own words are:

"dharma-jijñāsāyāḥ prāg api adhīta-vedāntasya brahma jijñāsopapatteḥ,.....dharma-brahma-jijñāsayoḥ phala-jijñāsyabhedāt, etc."

But at the same time, he is aware that Upavarṣa commen-

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ted on the two *Mīmāṃsās*, taking them as parts of the same book (*vide* Śaṅkara's *Bhāṣya* under iii. 3. 53). The *sūtra*, iii.3. 53 affirms the existence of the soul as distinguished from the body. Such an assertion is necessary even for the karma-Mīmāṃsā, for, there must be a soul to experience the fruits of *karma*. But the Pūrva Mīmāṃsā has no *sūtra* which definitely makes this assertion. The commentators, Śabara and Upavarṣa, accept the *sūtra* of the Vedānta as authoritative for the Pūrva Mīmāṃsā also and read its implication into their exposition of that system. And in view of their position that the assertion of the existence of the soul was implied in the Pūrva Mīmāṃsā also, the corresponding *sūtra* of the Vedānta (viz.,iii. 3. 53), practically becomes redundant. Śaṅkara also feels this and attempts to meet this possible charge of redundancy, by saying that though the commentators accept this theory of the soul, yet the *sūtras* of Pūrva Mīmāṃsā do not affirm it ; and hence,the *sūtra* of the Vedānta make explicit what was only implied in the other branch of the *śāstra*. Surely, this attempt to justify this particular *sūtra*, is inexplicable except on the assumption that Śaṅkara felt the weight of authority to be against the idea of separating the two Mīmāṃsās.

That the two Mīmāṃsās were conceived as two halves of the same study, is implied in Śaṅkara's own statement also. He says :

> "nanu śāstra-pramukhe eva prathame pāde śāstra-phalopabhogayogyasya dehavyatiriktasya ātmano 'stitvam uktam : satyam uktaṃ bhāṣyakṛtā, na tu tatrātmāstitve sūtram asti. iha tu svayam eva sūtra-kṛtā tadastitvaṃ ākṣepa-puraḥsaram pratiṣṭhāpitam ita eva ca ākṛṣya ācāryeṇa śabara-svāminā pramāṇa-lakṣaṇe varṇitam ata eva ca bhagavatā upavarṣeṇa *prathame tantre* ātmāstitvābhidhānaprasaktau 'śārīrake vakṣyāmaḥ' ity uddhāraḥ kṛtaḥ."

The passage deserves consideration. With reference to the *Pūrva Mīmāṃsā*, Śaṅkara himself uses the expression,

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'prathame pāde' or, the first part. Both according to Śabara and Upavarṣa and also according to Śaṅkara himself, what was left unsaid in the *Pūrva Mīmāṃsā* might well be supplied from the *Uttara Mīmāṃsā*.

Further, under *V-S.*, iii. 3. 25., Śaṅkara approvingly cites the *Pūrva Mīmāṃsā* as the '*prathamatantra*' and quotes *M-S.*, iii. 3. 14 for a rule of interpretation in certain cases; and by relying on this rule, he excludes certain texts from the purview of the Upaniṣads in the strict sense of the term, even though these texts are read *along with* Upaniṣadic texts proper. For, the rule of the *Pūrva Mīmāṃsā* quoted by him lays down that mere propinquity with another text does not determine the character of a text; there are other factors to be taken into account, such as meaning and intention, etc. Now, this relation—the employment of a rule laid down in the *Pūrva Mīmāṃsā* to determine the character of an Upaniṣad text—is justifiable only on the assumption that the two Mīmāṃsās were not opposing schools of thought. However much Śaṅkara may have disliked it, the relation between the two Mīmāṃsās, according to the vast majority of thinkers, was much more intimate than he was prepared to admit. Although a school was rising into prominence which asserted the independence of the Vedānta against the Mīmāṃsā, still this certainly did not represent the old classical and more orthodox view (cf. summary of the views of different schools on this subject in Puruṣottama's commentary on Vallabha).

The tendency to divorce the *Uttara Mīmāṃsā* from the *Purva Mīmāṃsā*, though not the leading tendency, was yet fairly old, and it is part of the general tendency to separate *jñāna* from *karma* and the Upaniṣads from the rest of the Vedas. The opposition between *jñāna* and *karma* is detectable even in the *Upaniṣads* themselves; and the turn that this tendency usually took was to separate the Upaniṣad texts from the Brāhmaṇa texts, properly so called. A clear trace of this is to be found in *V-S.*, iii. 3. 25. *et seq.*, where a discrimination of texts according as they are *mantra* or *vidyā*,

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is attempted. From the general agreement among the *bhāṣyas* (excepting perhaps that of Vallabha) on this *sūtra*, it will appear that certain texts which were read as part of Upaniṣads were still regarded as not necessary for the *vidyā* which was the subject-matter of the Upaniṣads. These passages were not physically separated from the mass of Upaniṣadic texts proper ; they were *read* together as parts of the same book and their physical propinquity was not only tolerated but even admitted as correct ; but their purposes were known to be different. We have seen the same thing in connection with certain passages of the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* which we considered above. We see now that discrimination of texts in regard to their meaning, purpose and application was always made, even though the texts were read as parts of the same book. But an actual, physical separation of such passages would have been the ideal thing. This, however, was impossible after the books had been accorded canonical sanctity.

Nevertheless, *V-S.*, iii. 3. 25. clearly shows that the discerning minds were always aware that all that was found in the Upaniṣads was not necessarily Upaniṣadic in character. Commentators quote several examples in this connection, such as *Taitt.*, i. 1.1., etc. Without suggesting that the Upaniṣads were independent *śrutis*, a discrimination between *karma* and *jñāna* (or *vidyā*) was made, and a corresponding mental separation of Upaniṣad texts from other *śrutis* was also attempted. As to whether a particular text was Upaniṣadic or not, i.e., whether it ordained *karma* or only gave *vidyā*, the chief criterion was, of course, the meaning ; but there were other indexes also ; and the usually accepted rule of guidance in such cases is given in the *Mīmāṃsā-sūtra*, iii.3. 14., on which even Śaṅkara relies. This fact of reliance on the *Mīmāṃsā-sūtra* shows that even the awareness of the distinction between *karma* and *jñāna* and also between Upaniṣadic and non-Upaniṣadic texts, could not bring about a divorce between the two Mīmāṃsās.

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The tendency to separate *jñāna* and *karma* is manifest in the fairly long discussion in the fourth quarter of the third chapter of the *Vedānta-sūtra*. And it has been pointed out by the Vallabha school (*vide* Puruṣottama's commentary on *V-S.*, i. 1.1) as also by others, that Bādarāyaṇa's own view in the matter is clearly expressed in iii. 4. 26., where *karma* is definitely declared as necessary for *vidyā*. Even Śaṅkara realises the unambiguous character of this declaration; and feels that it is not quite in tune with his extreme denunciation of *karma*. He seems to escape the opposition to his own view by saying that *karma* is necessary only for the production of *vidyā*, but not for its fruit-bearing: ("evam āśrama-karmāṇi vidyayā *phala-siddhau* nāpekṣyante *utpattau* cāpekṣyanta iti").

We see, then, that (i) though the *sannyāsa* cult, of which Śaṅkara was a towering exponent, attempted to divorce *jñāna* altogether from *karma*, still this was not the strict orthodox view which continued to feel that *karma* had a value; and (ii) though the Upaniṣadic texts as the source of *vidyā* were discriminated from the Brāhmaṇical texts, still they were never regarded as independent and of altogether distinct authority; and, therefore, (iii) though the *Uttara Mīmāṃsā* as the interpretation of the Upaniṣads was considered distinguishable from the *Pūrva Mīmāṃsā* which was an exegesis of the ritualistic injunctions of the Brāhmaṇas, yet the prevailing orthodox view was that the two Mīmāṃsās were but parts of one system.

And from the way in which the majority of the Bhāṣyakāras interpret the first word (*atha*) of the *Vedānta-sūtra*, it is clear that the *Pūrva Mīmāṃsā* was considered anterior to the *Vedānta-sūtra* not only logically but also chronologically. It is persistently said that the Mīmāṃsā branch must be studied *before* the Vedānta; and this implies a belief that the former was chronologically prior to the latter. Precedence of study would hardly be conceded to a science which is known to be a later product, and which was, therefore,

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not necessary for the science over which it claims precedence. The epithet applied to the Mīmāṃsā, viz., 'pūrva,' 'prathama' (*vide*, Śaṅkara), etc. also suggest its priority in time. Besides, *karma* belonged to the earlier *āśrama* and was supported by the earlier section of the Vedas (i.e., the Brāhmaṇas). All these considerations support the view that the *Pūrva Mīmāṃsā* was anterior to the *Uttara Mīmāṃsā*. Whether the *sūtras* of Pūrva Mīmāṃsā were, in their present form, composed before the *sūtras* of Vedānta, is difficult to determine. The *sūtras* were the property of the school and may have undergone changes by addition and subtraction after their first redaction. The composition of the *sūtras* was not necessarily synchronous with the beginnings of the teachings of the school. So far as the teachings of the school are concerned, it seems certain that the enquiry of the *Pūrva Mīmāṃsā* preceded that of the Vedānta. As Prof. Keith points out, "it is probable that the *Mīmāṃsā-sūtra* is the earliest of the six *Darśanas* preserved to us."[1] And though "the mention of Jaimini and Bādarāyaṇa in both texts affords some ground for the view that the two works (i.e., the two Mīmāṃsās) were simultaneously redacted", yet we have no valid reason for assuming that the Sūtras were actually redacted by Jaimini and Bādarāyaṇa themselves." And even if this be granted, "none the less it remains true that we must assume that the Mīmāṃsā as a science developed before the Vedānta."

But this view is contested by Dr. Paśupatinātha Śāstrī[2]. He thinks that "it is reasonable to believe that Bādarāyaṇa and Jaimini were contemporaries and that the latter wrote his Sūtras after the former." His reasons are mainly the following :

(1) Jaimini, according to traditon, was a pupil of Bādarāyaṇa. The likelihood, therefore, was that his work followed

1 *Karma-Mīmāṃsā*, p. 5.

2 *Introduction to the Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā*, ch. 1.

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that of the master. But Śāstrī gives away this argument when he turns to the mutual references in the Sūtras of the two systems, which cannot be explained on this hypothesis,

(2) In the interpretation of the *Pūrva Mīmāṃsā*, *V-S.*, iii.3.53., is pre-supposed, as Śaṅkara points out, by Śabara and Upavarṣa ; and, hence, Śāstrī contends that the *Vedānta-sūtra* was anterior to the *Pūrva Mīmāṃsā*. But this only shows that a doctrine which is in its nascent form in the Mīmāṃsā, has been more fully developed in the Vedānta, and should rather be regarded as proving the posteriority of the latter. The more developed and explicit form of a doctrine indicates a later stage in its life.

(3) "In the Devatādhikaraṇa (ix. 1.) of the Pūrva Mīmāṃsā, Śabara and others have propounded the theory of the non-existence of physical forms of the gods not on the basis of any sūtra of Jaimini but on that of the Uttara Mīmāṃsā" (*op. cit.*, p. 34).

This is not quite correct. No doubt, under *M-S.*, ix. 1. 9., Śabara takes considerable pains to establish the proposition that the gods have no forms (*vigraha*), and that the apparent ascription of forms to them in the *śrutis*, is only metaphorical and is intended as praise. But is this also the theory of the Vedānta ? What do we find in the Devatādhikaraṇa of the *Vedānta-sūtra* (i. 3. 26) ? Not only does the Vedānta assert that the gods *have* forms but in *sūtra* i. 3. 27., it is even affirmed that they can assume *many* forms at the same time and thus receive worship simultaneously at different places. And under i. 3. 33., Śaṅkara says :

"asti hi aiśvaryyayogād devatānāṃ jyotirādyātmabhiścāvasthātuṃ yatheṣṭaṃ ca taṃ taṃ vigrahaṃ grahītuṃ sāmarthyam".

Rāmānuja also understands the position of the Vedānta in this matter in the same way. He, too, says (under *sūtra* i. 3. 26) :

"vispaṣṭam eva śarīrendriyavattvaṃ devatānāṃ pratīyate."

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All other commentators, with the exception of Madhva, understand this section of the Vedānta-sūtras in the same way. Madhva does not deny the existence of forms to the gods; on the contrary, he suggests that men themselves become gods in the course of their spiritual development.

The position of Vedānta with regard to the corporeality of the gods, is quite unequivocal. In fact, the whole discussion in the Vedānta-sūtras is introduced to establish the proposition that the gods also need salvation and can hope to attain it by the same means as men, viz., Brahma-vidyā. The attitude of the Vedānta in this matter is definitely opposed to that of Jaimini. Jaimini's name has been specifically mentioned in this *adhikaraṇa* of the Vedānta and his objections elaborately stated and refuted. And Vallabha thinks that in Sūtra i. 3. 26., Bādarāyaṇa takes his own name just to emphasise the fact that he differs from Jaimini ("tatra jaimini-prabhṛtīnāṃ na sammatir iti svanāma-grahaṇam").

It will appear, therefore, that Śāstrī's third argument to prove the priority of the Vedānta-Sūtras, is based on a misapprehension of facts.

(4) In the next place, Sāstrī quotes Appaya Dīkṣita to show that Vedānta was regarded as a self-contained system. This is undoubtedly the view of the Śaṅkara school. But Śaṅkara himself did not feel this independence of the Mīmāṃsā to the same extent as his followers: he quoted Mīmāṃsā rules of interpretation and considered them authoritative even for the Vedānta. But Appaya contends that rules of interpretation which are specially elaborated in the *Pūrva Mīmāṃsā*, are not altogether wanting within the Vedānta, and so, the Vedānta can be regarded as independent of the Mīmāṃsā.

But at the same time, Appaya, like Śaṅkara, is aware that the two Mīmāṃsās were regarded as constituting but one science. He even advances the theory that the two *Mīmāṃsās* are but one book composed at intervals by different authors. ("śāstrārambha-pratijñaikyena vaktṛ-bhede' pyeka-

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prabandhatāmātraṃ tadānīm āpadyate samayabandha-pūrvakānekakavikartṛkaika kāvyavat etc.").

He also points out some of the more important differences between the two systems and raises the question how in view of these differences the two can at all be regarded as one science. Admitting the differences, his own solution is indicated by the simile of one great book written by different men holding diverse views ("parasparaviruddhamatābhimānyanekakavikṛta-rāmāyaṇādivad-ekaprabandhatā"). In fact, Appaya even suggests that the enquiry proposed in the first Sūtra of the Mīmāṃsā covers, in a way, the enquiry proposed in the Vedānta also, at least in so far as the Vedānta is dependent on an exposition of the Vedas ("dharmmajijñāsāsūtre brahma-mīmānsā-sādhāraṇī vedārtha-vicāra-pratijñā dharma-mīmāṃsā-mātrasādhāraṇī dharmma-vicāra-pratijñā ca iti dvividhā pratijñā vivakṣitā").

Only, he is not prepared to admit that the study of the one is necessarily dependent on that of the other. It is very much like a treatise on the treatment of diseases : the section on the treatment of fever is not dependent on that of the treatment of debility. The two Mīmāṃsās are one science, just as a treatise on diseases is one science ; they are not opposed to one another, nor are they dependent on one another ("tasmād anapekṣitaṃ hi vedārtha-vicāratvopādhikalpyam aikaśāstryaṃ nātiviruddham iti").

But, after all, what does it prove ? Does it establish Śāstrī's contention that the *Pūrva Mīmāṃsā* was composed *after* the *Uttara Mīmāṃsā* ?

Śāstrī quotes (p. 36) a passage from Max Müller where it is said that Jaimini begins his *sūtras* 'apparently in imitation' of Bādarāyaṇa. And from this he concludes that the *Uttara-mīmāṃsā-sūtras* were the first to come into existence. But obviously this is very inconclusive. For, he himself quotes (p. 24) another passage from Max Müller where that writer does not like to commit himself 'so far as to claim priority in time for the Vedānta'.

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In fact, after considerable wrestling with diverse authorities, Śāstrī himself comes to the rather tame conclusion that "according to these eminent authorities the aim of the Pūrva Mīmāṃsā is a necessary prelude to the object of the Uttara Mīmāṃsā" (p. 42). And he preludes this conclusion by an assumption that the two Mīmāṃsās are "independent systems having different aims." But at the same breath he goes on to say : "The aim of the Pūrva Mīmāṃsā is the purification of the mind of a man by means of various rituals. Until a man's mind is sufficiently purified, he cannot understand the frailty of worldly matters, and so he is not fit to study the Uttara Mīmāṃsā"....."Thus we find that there are two distinct aims one of which is preliminary to the other." Now, not only is one of them preliminary to the other, but it is a *necessary* prelude ; surely, this is not the sign of independent systems.

It seems futile, therefore, to attempt to establish the mutual independence of the two Mīmāṃsās ; and an attempt to establish the chronological priority of the Vedānta is not likely to attain more success. It may be equally difficult to prove that the Pūrva Mīmāṃsā was prior in time. As a matter of fact, the question of priority in time is insignificant in this case ; for, it is doubtful if all the *sūtras* of either of these systems were really composed by the same hand. They are the property of a school ; and it seems that the *sūtras* assumed their present form after a process of growth for an appreciable length of time during which addition and alteration must have taken place. And so, the chronological priority of either of existing systems of *sūtras* is difficult to determine.

Of course, there must have been a beginning ; but so far as that is concerned, it seems that the system of ideas which has assumed the name of Pūrva Mīmāṃsā, had an earlier start than the other system. This, indeed, can be asserted with some amount of certainty. For, germs of these ideas are found in the Brāhmaṇas themselves ; and

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the priority of *karma* as a cult in the life of the Aryan people who owned the Vedas, is also beyond dispute. It is but a natural corollary of this that an attempt to interpret and understand this prior cult preceded the attempt to explain the subsequent cult. The Pūrva Mīmāṃsā ideas, therefore, in their nascent form at any rate, must have preceded the Uttara Mīmāṃsā ideas. And this relation has not been disputed by any Indian authority.

From the way in which the relation between the two Mīmāṃsās was generally understood by Indian writers, its logical priority is beyond doubt. Even Appaya Dīkṣita who is anxious to establish the independence of the Vedānta, does not dispute the appellation of *prathama* (prior) given by Śaṅkara and all others to the Mīmāṃsā.

Not only was the Mīmāṃsā logically antecedent to the Vedānta, but for long ages past, it was conceived as but a part of the same science (*śāstra*), of which the Vedānta brought up the rear. And as such, the Mīmāṃsā was regarded as prior in time also. The two Mīmāṃsās separated by gradual differentiation from each other, like two boughs of a tree branching off from the same trunk. They were not born among distinct circles of thinkers, like unrelated neighbours in different homes: but they originally grew up as limbs of the same organism.

And, besides, the separation between them is more complete in the later phases of the Śaṅkara school, of which Appaya is a representative, than in any other school. And those also who have separated the philosophical theories of the Vedānta from the Vedānta as a philosophico-religious system, look upon the Mīmāṃsā as something alien to the Vedānta. But however much it may be desirable from the standpoint of pure philosophy, historically it is inaccurate. Neither the two branches of *śruti* nor the two Mīmāṃsās began their life in mutual antagonism. Antagonism crept in between them in later times and they separated like quarrelling brothers; but they arose out of the same origin.

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The Vādavidhi

I have briefly dealt with the Vādavidhi in my note, "On the Fragments from Diṅnāga" in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1928, p. 368) and in my paper, "Buddhist Logic before Diṅnāga," sent to the Oriental Congress recently held at Oxford, and which will be shortly published in that same Journal.[1] I have expounded in these two studies the reasons why I think that Vidyābhūṣaṇa's views about the authorship of the Vādavidhi cannot be maintained. On the other hand, Prof. Keith, in a very interesting article published in the IHQ,[2] supports the theory of Vidyābhūṣaṇa against the contention of Mr. R. Iyengar. Prof. Keith is not convinced by the arguments expounded by the latter and thinks, therefore, that unless new documents are found, we have no grounds for rejecting Vidyābhūṣaṇa's views.

Since the solution of the question is rather important for the history of Buddhist logic, I think that it is worthwhile to examine it once more in the light of all the available material.

One Vādavidhi, as it is known, is quoted by Uddyotakara concerning the definition of the *pratijñā*: *sādhyābhidhānaṃ pratijñā* (Benares Sanskrit Series, new edition, p. 117). Vācaspati is here silent about the authorship of the book.

In another place Uddyotakara says: *apare tu svaparapakṣayoḥ siddhyasiddyarthaṃ vacanaṃ vādaḥ* (p. 150).

Vācaspati comments[3] (p. 317): "*vāsubandhavaṃ lakṣa-*

1 In the course of this note, these two papers will be abbreviated as follows: OFD and BLBD, so NV for Nyāyavārttika, NVTT for Nyāyavārttikatātparyaṭīkā, PS for Pramāṇasamuccaya and PSV for Pramāṇasamuccayavṛtti.

2 Vasubandhu and the Vādavidhi, IHQ, vol. iv, p. 221.

3 New edition, Benares Sanskrit Series 24 (Rājeśvara Śāstrī ed.)

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ṇaṃ dūṣayitum upanyasyati." (The new edition reads *vāsubandhavam* instead of the *saubandhavam* of the first edition).

At p. 136 we read in the NV: "*avayavatraya evaṃ lakṣaṇenopapādite teṣāṃ trayo durvihitā.*" This refers, according to NVTT, p. 198, to the criticism advanced by Vasubandhu against the definition of the *pratijñā*, *dṛṣṭānta* and *hetu*, as given by Akṣapāda: *atra Vasubandhunā pratijñādayo trayo 'vayavā durvihitā Akṣapādalakṣaṇenety uktam.*"

At last at p. 117, we read: "*yad api Vādavidhānaṭīkāyaṃ sādhayatīti śabdasya svayaṃ pareṇa ca tulyatvāt svayam iti viśeṣaṇam.*[1]

So in NV we find only once the mention of the Vādavidhi and without the name of its author. That is all we know so far as Sanskrit sources are concerned. Now to whom shall we attribute this Vādavidhi?

Vidyābhūṣaṇa, whose theory Prof. Keith seems inclined to accept, assumes[2] that it is a work of Dharmakīrti called Vādanyāya and that the Vādavidhānaṭīkā, quoted by the same Uddyotakara, is the same as the Vādanyāyaṭīkā by Vinītadeva. So Uddyotakara should be, if not posterior, at least contemporary with Vinītadeva. The identification of the Vādavidhi with the Vādanyāya is based upon the definition of the *pratijñā* as given by Uddyotakara and which is said to appear also in the Vādanyāya.

My first objection to such a theory is this: is it not strange that one and the same work is known under three different titles, viz., *Vādavidhi*, *Vādavidhāna*, *Vādanyāya*? This also implies that Uddyotakara quoted the same book under two different names just in the same page (p. 117., ll. 1 and 20).

1 On the *pratyakṣa*, cf. Randle, Fragments, p. 10.

2 History of Indian Logic, p. 320; JRAS, 1914, pp. 601-606 and Introduction to a Bilingual Index of the Nyāyabindu (BI, 1917), pp. IX-X.

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Moreover, the work of Dharmakīrti is preserved in Tibetan, and, as I already noted, its title is not at all Vādavidhi, but Codanānyāya[1] or Codyanyāya. Let us now proceed to discuss the definition of the *pratijñā*, which has been the chief argument from which Vidyābhūṣaṇa deduced the identity of the Vādavidhi with the Vādanyāya, viz., Codanānyāya. First of all, we have in NV, *sādhyābhidhānaṃ pratijñā*, but in the Codanānyāya we read : *dam. bcaḥ. ba. yaṅ. bsgrub. bya. bstan. pai. p'yir. ro.* which corresponds to *pratijñāpi sādhyābhidhānāt.* Of course the similarity of the definition concerning the *pratijñā* cannot be avoided ; it is in fact always either *sādhyābhidhāna* or *sādhyanirdeśa.* The diversity of views is concerned only with the *pratijñā* as a member of the syllogism.

The diversity is this ; according to the Nyāyasūtras the *pratijñā* is one of the five members of the syllogism ; it represents the *probandum* and it must be considered as a fundamental part of it, which cannot be disposed of. The Buddhist logicians, on the contrary, elaborated the doctrine of the *pakṣa.* This is, according to the Vādavidhi, as we shall see later on, the argument proposed in the *vicāraṇā.* Now Uddyotakara objects to the consistency of the definition of the *pratijñā*, as given by Vasubandhu, with the theory of the *pakṣa* held by the same author. If the definition of *pratijñā* is related to the *pakṣa*, then it is useless to say : *sādhyābhidhānam.* Śādhya being the *pakṣa* itself, the definition should run thus : *"tad abhidhānaṃ pratijñā.* If, on the other hand, it is maintained that the *pratijñā* has no relation with the *pakṣa*, then it would be the same as that given by the Naiyāyikas; so the mistakes that Vasubandhu finds in this, should also be present in his own. The commentary of Kuei Chi on

1 This form has been kindly suggested to me by Prof. W. F. Thomas. But the commentary by Śāntirakṣita (mdo. tse.) has Vādanyāya.

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the Nyāyapraveśa[1] throws further light on this point. In fact, he says that, according to the old masters, the syllogism is composed of two different parts, viz., *sādhya* and *sādhana*. The first is represented by the subject and the predicate, *dharmin* and *dharma* that must be proved; the second consists in the proposition (*pratijñā*), reason (*hetu*) and example (*dṛṣṭānta*). This theory is, in fact, expounded in the Abhidharmasaṅgīti and the Prakaraṇārya-vācā-śāstra of Asaṅga.[2] It is evident, from the fragments of the Vādavidhi that this theory was accepted by the author of this book. *Sādhya* is equal to *pakṣavicāraṇāyām iṣṭo' rthaḥ* (NV, p. 106); *sādhana* is equal to *pratijñā, hetu, dṛṣṭānta*. But for Diṅnāga things are different; *pratijñā* is abolished and *pakṣa*, viz., *sādhya* is substituted for it. So also for Dharmakīrti.

I must add that the passage of the Codanānyāya *is not at all a definition of the pratijñā*, but an *incidental proposition in the course of a discussion* on the *Nigrahasthānas*.[3]

Prof. Keith points out that the arguments of Mr. Iyengar are very far from being convincing, inasmuch as we cannot adduce any evidence that the definition of the

1 The commentary of Kuei Chi on the Nyāyapraveśa has been studied by me in a paper to be published shortly.

2 Cf. BLBD where the logical theories of these books have been expounded.

3 As regards the definition of *pakṣa*, as given in the Vidhānaṭīkā and which is supposed to occur also in Vinītadeva's Commentary on the Codanānyāya, I must confess that the Tib. passage has been misunderstood and wrongly translated by Vidyābhūṣaṇa. Moreover, the word *svayam* is essential in the definition of *pakṣa* as given by Diṅnāga in the Nyāyamukha and by Śaṅkarasvāmin in the Nyāyapraveśa. As to the passage concerning the *vāda* also we cannot find any exact correspondence. The Tib. supposes *vādiprativādibhyāṃ svaparārtha* (don)-*siddhyasiddhyarthaṃ vacanaṃ vādaḥ*. We do not find here that literal correspondence that should be expected [cf. NV, 108, where the same definition occurs once more and where we find again *pakṣa* (Tib. *p'yogs*)and not *artha* (*don*)].

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pratijñā, as quoted in the NV and analogous to that of the so-called Vādanyāya (viz., Codanānyāya), was in fact contained in the Vādavidhi. Fortunately, as I have expounded in my paper on BLBD, we are in a position to give this evidence. In fact, the definition of the *pratijñā* as given in the *Vādavidhi* is expressly quoted by Diṅnāga in his Pramāṇasamuccayavṛtti (III, p. 45, a)[1] *bsgrub. byar brjod. pa. tsam. dam. bcaḥ. ba.* : *pratijñā sādhyābhidhānam* (or *nirdeśaḥ*) *eva* (or *mātram*). He adds that *sādhya* is here *p'yogs*, *pakṣa*; and *pakṣa*, he says, must be understood as *rnam. par. dpyad. pai. adod. pai. don.* that is: *vicāraṇāyām iṣṭo 'rthaḥ*, quoted by the NV already referred to. This confirms how the statements of Kuei Chi are exact.

That the definition of the *pratyakṣa* and of the *anumāna* (the former is attributed to Vasubandhu by Vācaspati), as quoted in the NV, are really found in the Vādavidhi, as we read in the Pramāṇasamuccayavṛtti, has already been pointed out by Mr. Iyengar.

I must add that even the definition of the *dṛṣṭānta* as given in the Vādavidhi (from PSV) is not unknown to the NV ; 137, *tayoḥ sambandhanidarśanaṃ dṛṣṭāntaḥ* : *de. dag. gi. abrel. pa. ṅes. par. ston. pa. ni. dpe. ste.*[2]

For all these reasons I think that no doubt is any longer possible as regards the identity of the Vādavidhi, attributed to Vasubandhu and referred to in Diṅnāga's PS and PSV, with the Vādavidhi quoted by the NV. The Codanānyāya of Dharmakīrti is out of question.[3] Now we shall consider the problem of the Vādavidhānaṭīkā. This

1 From the copy of the bsTan agyur of the University of Calcutta that has been very kindly put at my disposal for some time. In the second translation of the same work it occurs at fol. 127 b.

2 Chap. IV, fol. 70 b.

3 As I pointed out in OFD, p. 381, no allusion to the theory of the *Nigrahasthānas* as maintained by Dharmakīrti is to be found in NV, but it occurs in NVTT as well as in the Nyāyamañjarī of Jayanta.

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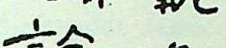
title presupposes two different works; a *mūla* and a commentary on it. In the name *Vādavidhāna*, *vidhāna* is a synonym of *vidhi*. Now, as I said in my OFD, according to the Chinese sources, we know that Vasubandhu wrote at least three works on logic.

Lun Shih

Lun Kuei

 Lun Sin

There is no doubt that the first corresponds to the Vādavidhi; the third is not Vādakauśala as proposed by Vidyābhūṣaṇa, but Vādahṛdaya; the second can be restored quite well into Vādavidhāna since Shih and Kuei are synonyms (rule, law, system, etc.). This may be supported by the fact that, as I have shown in BLBD, the quotation from the Vādavidhāna as given in the NV, agrees with a passage that I found in the Abhidharmasaṃyuktasaṅgīti written by Sthiramati, the greatest disciple of Vasubandhu, who composed the commentary on the Vijñaptimātratā recently published by Prof. Sylvain Lévi.

I am sure, therefore, that there can hardly be any doubt that the identification of the Vādavidhi and the Vādavidhāna with the Codanānyāya is no longer tenable.

But now the question arises, who was the author of the Vādavidhi? According to Vācaspati, the Vādavidhi is of Vasubandhu, because when Uddyotakara quotes passages that we find in the commentary on the Pramāṇasamuccaya, as taken from the Vādavidhi, he uses the expression, *Vāsubandhavalakṣaṇa*. The uncertainty arising from the reading *Saubandhava* of the first edition is now, as we saw, no more existent. The Chinese sources also agree with this attribution. Shen T'ai and Kuei Chi tell us that the Vādavidhāna and the Vādavidhi are of Vasubandhu, and this statement cannot so easily be disposed of, since

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they were informed by Yuan Chwang himself. The commentary of Kuei Chi on the Nyāyapraveśa clearly shows that he was perfectly conversant with the Buddhist logic and that he knew the Pramāṇasamuccaya. The only source at our disposal that seems to deny the attribution of the Vādavidhi to Vasubandhu is the Pramāṇasamuccaya of Diṅnāga. This author thinks that that work is not by the *ācārya* as it was believed. Did he say so because he could not accept the theories held by Vasubandhu, whom he called "the master" and in fact was obliged to refute them in his book? Or was there really a tradition that denied the authorship of the Vadāvidhi to Vasubandhu? It is difficult to answer these questions. But the fact remains that among the Naiyāyikas as well as among the Buddhists who informed Yuan Chwang,[1] the Vādavidhi was attributed to Vasubandhu, and that this Vādavidhi existed before Diṅnāga.

I must add that this Vādavidhi has nothing to do with the Fragment of the Tarkaśāstra which is preserved in Chinese and which still knows a five-fold syllogism as the Naiyāyikas; while Vasubandhu, and the Vādavidhi, as we know from Chinese sources, and Uddyotakara, expounded the doctrine of a three-fold syllogism.[2]

GIUSEPPE TUCCI

1 Jinendrabuddhi, in his Viśalāmalavatī on Pramāṇasamuccaya, I, 14, states also that the attribution of the Vādavidhi to Vasubandhu is *ajig. rten. na. rab. tu. grags. pa. loke prasiddha*, but as it contains mistakes, it cannot be attributed to the ācārya.

2 This very important text has been translated into Sanskrit by me, and will appear very shortly in the Baroda Oriental Series.

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A Copper-plate Grant of Visvarupa Sena of Bengal

Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasada Sastri published a reading of the above grant in the Indian Historical Quarterly, vol. II, p. 77. The donative portion of the grant is very important as regards the geography of Eastern Bengal in the thirteenth century, but perhaps for want of materials near at hand, he has left it to be done by the archæologists of Eastern Bengal. We shall in this article try to identify some of the names of persons and places mentioned in the grant. It may be noted that the transcription of the first line of the reverse side of the grant is not in the attached facsimile, although we find it in the original.

Sāmasiddhi Pāṭaka (line 8, reverse)—We do not agree with the learned editor in reading this name of the grant. It is clearly *Rāmasiddhi*. A comparison of the first and the third letters of this name will convince every one that it cannot be anything but *Rāmasiddhi*. In fact, we find that it is an old village in the northern extremity of the district of Bakharganj within the Police station Gournadi and Paragana Bangroda. It has got an ancient mosque with stone-pillars connected with the name of Safi Khan. This Safi Khan is perhaps identical with the emperor's Dewan Haji Safi Khan (1678 A.C.).[1] According to Keene he was a son of Islam Khan Mashadi, Governor of Bengal (1637-1639), and served under Emperors Shah Jahan and Alamgir.[2] We have seen a sanad dated the 2nd year of Alamgir's reign under the seal of Safi Khan. This must, therefore, be in 1659-1660 A.C. He might have come to Bengal with his father (1637 A.C.) in the capacity of a revenue officer and

1 JASB, vol. (N.S.) XVI, 1920, pp. 98, 102 and 103.

2 H.G. Keene, An Oriental Biographical Dictionary.

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had his head-quarters in the locality. Remains of several tanks and roads are still found connected with his name. This Rāmsiddhi is said to be in *nāvye vaṅge*, which means that it is in Vaṅga and is approachable by boats. The state of the locality to a certain extent is the same even to-day. A considerable portion of it is full of *beels* even now. Not far off from this place in the east is a village called Sarikela, which we identify with Harikela. According to Abhidhānacintāmaṇi of Hemacandra, this Harikela is synonymous with Vaṅga. I-tsing described Harikela to be the eastern-most country of India in the seventh century.

Bāṅgāla Vaḍābhū (l. 9, reverse).—We identify this with the present Bangroda Pargana mentioned above. This is an ancient place mentioned in the Manasā-maṅgala of Vijayagupta written towards the end of the fifteenth century.[1]

"ঋতুশূন্য বেদশশী পরিমিত শক।
সুলতান হোসেন সাহা নৃপতি তিলক॥
সংগ্রামে অর্জ্জুন রাজা প্রভাতের রবি।
নিজ বাহু বলে রাজা শাসিলা পৃথিবী॥
রাজার পালনে প্রজা সুখ ভুঞ্জে নিত।
মুল্লুক ফতেয়াবাদ বাঙ্গরোড়া তকসিম॥"
(বিজয়গুপ্তের মনসামঙ্গল, ৪পৃষ্ঠা)

We have also seen it written as Bāṅgrollā in old papers.

Kumāra Sadā Sena (l. 20, reverse).—The existence of this name corroborates the statement that Sadā Sena was one of the reigning princes of the Sena dynasty of Bengal. He is perhaps the same Sadā Sena as mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari. He probably succeeded Viśvarūpa Sena. I do not know if any other proof has hitherto been found that he really existed.

Candradvīpa (l. 22, reverse).—Mm. Sastri has read it *Kandradvīpa*, but to us it looks like *Phaṇdradvīpa*. In spite of his insistence not to identify it with Candradvīpa for the present, we cannot resist the temptation of doing so, as we shall presently show that both the villages of Ḍomvara-

1 Vijayagupta, Manasā-maṅgala, p. 4.

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kāṭṭi and Pātilādivīkā can be traced to be within Candradvīpa.

According to Tāranātha, this Candradvīpa was named after the renowned Buddhist savant Candragomin. He is said to have lived in the seventh century but according to some, in the fourth or at the commencement of the fifth century.[1] Mm. Sastri has seen a book in Nepal in which it is stated that Matsyendranatha, who is worshipped in Nepal, belonged to Candradvīpa. According to the Nepalese people, he went there in 522 A.C., but according to Sastri, he lived in the later part of the seventh or the eight century. Candradvīpa along with Harikela is also mentioned in the Copper-plate grant of Śrī Candradeva.[2] Miniature pictures of Avalokiteśvara and Tārādevī are found in a manuscript copied in 1015 A.C., now in the Cambridge University Library.[3]

Rāja-Paṇḍita Maheśvara (l. 22, reverse).—Mm. Sastri has rightly held him to be identical with Maheśvar Vaudya of the Śāṇḍilya gotra, one of the first Kulīnas of the Rāḍhī Brahmins. He has been mentioned in connection with the 2nd *Samīkaraṇa* as related by Dhruvānanda Miśra in his Mahāvaṃśa.

Maheśvaro mahāvijñaḥ Śuco-Caṭṭa-sutāpatiḥ/
Rājño Lakṣaṇasensya sabhāyāṃ tilakaḥ kṛtī//
* * * *
Mahādevaḥ sutas tasya Lakṣmaṇena prapūjitaḥ//

This shows that Maheśvara was anointed by Lakṣmaṇa Sena and was a Sabhāpaṇḍita of his and not of Ballāla Sena as stated by Mm. Sastri. Since Maheśvara and his son Mahādeva were honoured at the court of Lakṣmaṇa Sena, Maheśvara must have been a contemporary of Ballāla

1 Indian Antiquary, 1890, p. 319.
2 Epigraphia Indica, vol. xii.
3 A. Foucher, Etude sur l'Iconographie Bouddhique de l'Inde, pp. 105 and 137.

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also. We shall see this Maheśvara was a resident of Ḍomvarakāṭṭi in Candradvīpa.

Ḍomvarakāṭṭi Pāṭaka (l. 22, reverse).—Although the villages ending in 'kāṭṭi' are a peculiarity of the district of Bakharganj, we could not find a village of this name in the present list of villages of this district. We have, however, been able to find mention of a village named Ḍumburagrāma in Candradvīpa, in the Brahmakhaṇḍa of the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa[1]

Buddhāvatārasamaye Candradvīpasya madhyataḥ/
Dumburākhya-mahāgrāmo Raṇā-nadyāḥ samīpataḥ//

Again in the Deśāvali-vivṛti[2] by Pandit Jagumohana, we find the following mention of a village named Ḍumburapura. The tradition about the origin of the name is common in both the books :

"Mādhavapārśvottare bhāge krośamātravyatikrame/
Ḍmburākhyapurañ cāsti siddhalokavāsasthalam//
* * * *
Nadī tv ekā grāmapārśve sarvadā toyapūritā
Ḍumurapura iti bhāṣāyam /"

This village is still in existence in Bakharganj, some 8 or 9 miles north-west of the town of Barisal. People call it Romatpura, but some write it as Rahamatpura, thus obliterating all traces of identification. Mādhavapārśva, mentioned above, is the village of Mādhavapāśā, the last capital of the kings of Candradvīpa, where their descendants are still residing in a humble condition. Vau-ṭhākurāṇīr Hāṭ, where the scene for Rabindranatha's novel of the same name has been laid, is not far off from Mādhavapāśā. The river mentioned is now-a-days known as Rājār Vera (king's ditch). Apparently, Maheśvara Paṇḍita had his residence in this village as the word *śavāstubhū* in line 23 indicates.

1 A manuscript in N. N. Vasu's Viśvakoṣa Library.

2 Descriptive Catalogue of Govt. Collection of Sanskrit Mss., vol. iv.

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Pātilādivīkā (l. 23, reverse).—No place of this name can now be traced in Candradvīpa, but mention of it can be had in a book named "Asia Portuguesa" written by one Manoel de Faria y Souza and published in Lisbon in 1666 A.C. An English translation of it by Capt. John Stevens is to be found in the Imperial Library, Calcutta. It is described in this book that a Portuguese named Sebastian Gonzales stipulated with the King of Bacala (Candradvīpa) that the Rājā would get half the revenue of the island of Sandvīpa if he would help Gonzales in conquering it. The King supplied him with some ships and 200 horses. With this help from the Rājā, Gonzales took possession of the island but instead of giving him half the revenue, Gonzales made war on the Rājā and took Sāvāspur and Pātilābhāṅgā belonging to the Rājā. This Pātilābhāṅgā, we believe, is the same as the Pātilādivīkā of the grant. It was perhaps a small island at the time of Viśvarūpa Sena as the suffix 'divikā' implies. This suffix was replaced by the suffix 'bhāṅgā' when the islet gave way owing to erosions in the beginning of the seventeenth century and completely disappeared in course of time.

If our suggestion that Kandradvīpa is no other place than Candradvīpa be accepted, we would invite the attention of scholars to the Victorious Camp in line 32 of the Madanapāḍa grant of this king Viśvarūpa Sena.[1] It also looks like 'Phandragrāma.' Accordingly we shall not be far from the truth if we read this as 'Candragrāma also.' We are inclined to believe that this Candragrāma is identical with Candrapura of Candradvīpa mentioned in the Śrīmatottara Tantra.[2]

> Divyaṃ manoharaṃ ramyaṃ śrīmac Candrapuraṃ śubham/
> Samudrasyopakaṇṭheṣu hemaprākāramaṇḍitam//

1 JASB, vol. XLV, 1896 part. i, p. 6.
2 Mm. Sastri's Catalogue of Nepalese Buddhist Mss., vol. I.

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2 Mm. Sastri's Catalogue of Nepalese Buddhist Mss., vol. I.

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yojanāyutavistīrṇaṃ nānāratnopaśobhitam/
Nānāharmyāṇi divyāni nānāratnamayāni ca//

* * * *

Iti ** Śrīkaṇṭhanāthāvatārite Śrī-Candradvīpa vinirgate yoginīguhye vidyāpīṭhe ... ... Sārasamuccaye Śrīmatottare pañcaviṃśatitamaḥ paṭalaḥ samāptaḥ/

Mention of a 'Candrapurapattana' is also found among the names of eastern countries along with Suhma, Karvaṭa etc. in the 'Bṛhatsaṃhitā.'

From the above descriptions and the prefix 'Śrī' it appears that Candrapura was a city of some importance and was perhaps a capital. It might be that King Viśvarūpa removed his capital there, near the sea coast (Samudrasyopakaṇṭhe), to make it more secure against the attack of the Muhammadans, or it might be that he made it a second capital. It is yet to be seen if modern 'Chandpur', a subdivision of the Tippera district, has anything to do with this 'Candrapura.'

That the capital of Candradvīpa was on the sea-coast up till the latter part of the sixteenth century is apparent from a description in the Ain-i-Akbari (Gladwin's translation)—"Sarkar Bakla (Candradvīpa) is upon the banks of the sea; the fort is situated among trees."

We find that the princes Sadā Sena and Puruṣottama Sena gave away lands in Vikramapura and Candradvīpa respectively. It may be that they ruled in those places as Sāmantas, or Provincial Officers. It appears that Eastern Bengal at that time was divided into three principal districts, viz. Vaṅga, Vikramapura, and Candradvīpa, and that Vaṅga formed the northern part, and Candradvīpa the southern part of Bakharganj

The origin of the peculiar village name-endings in 'Kāṭi' and 'Kaṭhī' found in Bakarganj can be traced to the 10th century in the copper-plate grant of Śrī Candradeva in the village-name of Nehakāṣṭhi. Both 'Kāṣṭhi' and 'Kāṭṭi' are found in the Madanapāḍa grant, whereas only 'Kāṭṭi' is

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found in this grant. All are derived probably from the Sanskrit word 'Kāṣṭha' or wood. This shows that this part was once covered by woods, probably by the present Sundarbans. It may also indicate fresh settlement and formation of a new village by cutting down jungle.

As a portion of the bottom of the plate has been cut and melted we could not discover the name of the place as well as the year of issue. It seems that it was issued at a time later than that of the Madanpāḍa grant, which was issued on the 14th year of the reign.

JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH

Nambi Āṇḍar Nambi

II

An Additional Point

It is stated in the Antāti (stanza 80) that the king passed away during the lifetime of the author. We find from inscriptions that his highest regnal year is 5. In that year he should have paid his debt of nature. For A.P. says that Uttama, son of Gandarāditya, ascended the throne after the demise of Āditya Karikāla. I have shown elsewhere that he should have been the king Ponmalikai Thunjina Deva.

Possible Objections

Some may attribute the gilding of Chidambaram and the conquests of the South to Gandarāditya, the Saint king, (circa A.C. 848-854), and quote stanza 8 in his Tiruvisaippa. The stanza referred to here enumerates the actions of his father Parantaka I (907-947 A.C.). If Gandarāditya was

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really the king referred to in the Antāti of Nambi, he would have stated it clearly. On the other hand we have to remember that he lost some of his dominions by the aggressive policy of Kṛṣṇa III, and the name found in the works Āditya and not Gandarāditya.

It may be pointed out that the chronicler Umāpati Śivam is said to have stated that after dividing the sacred hymns into seven parts, all other works such as Tiruvacakam, etc. were collected and divided into four more parts. Some of the authors of Tiruvicaippa, the 9th Tirumurai, Karuvur Thevar and others have been found to have lived during the time of Rājarāja I and after. No doubt, it a is valid objection if the statement found in the sacred canon be true. The very first objection to this theory is, Nambi would not have dared to include his own poems in the sacred canon (i. e. the 11th Tirumurai). No one, however great, would honour himself. Honour is bestowed by others. Let us be charitable enough to think that Nambi did not overstep the limits of modesty. Moreover, he is credited with the authorship of Vinayakar Tiru Irattai Mani Malai (2) Koil Tiruppaṇṇiar Viruttam (3) Tiru Chaṇpai Viruttam (4) Mummaṇikkovai (5) Ulamalai (6) Tirukkalambakam (7) Tiruttokai (8) Tirunavukkaracar Tiru Ekadsamalai in addition to the Antāti on the 63 saints and one on Sambandha. He states in stanza 34 of the Antāti that he sang an Antāti alone on St. Sambandha as already stated. If he were the author of the other works he would have said so and might have included them in the collection. The express statement quoted above from the Antāti precludes us from attributing all the other works to him. However, I would suggest a critical study of the poems themselves. Secondly, a careful study of the chronicles describing the canonical settlement will show that the stanzas relating to the later Tirumurai are all interpolations. We read in stanza 24 that the king wanted to divide the sacred hymns found at Chidambarm. He divided them into seven parts in view of the fact that there are seven mantras,

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Svadhā Svāhā, etc. This stanza is complete by itself. The next stanza No. 25 should begin with further story. Instead of that what do we find? We find that the thread of the narrative is broken after Stanza 24. Moreover, the sevenfold division was made by the monarch. But the division into 11 Tirumurai is attributed to some indefinite number of persons. In stanza 27 the Suzerain steps in and asks Nambi to collect the stray stanzas. The simultaneous mention of the 7 and 11 mantras as the guiding principle in the settlement of the canon is conflicting and unacceptable. Hence, we may positively assert that four stanzas, 25-28, are interpolations.

Research scholars ascribe Nambi to different periods, some holding that he flourished during the time of Rājarāja I, others Gandarāditya and Parantaka I and still others Kulottuṅga I. The theory that he lived during the reign of Rājarāja is apparently sound from the statement found in the settlement of the canon and in the early stage of research. As regards the other theories, there does not seem to be any historical basis. They may safely be ignored.

Conclusion

From the foregoing discussion, the conclusion is irresistible that Āditya Karikāla II was the king who was instrumental in bringing about the canonical settlement of the Śaiva scriptures. As he is the predecessor of Uttama Cola Madurantaka, son of Gandarāditya, who began his reign in A.C. 970, Āditya II has to be assigned to the years 966-970 A.C. But Nambi Āṇḍār Nambi should have lived not only during the lifetime of the king but even before and after. We hear him as a grown-up man during the reign of Āditya and he says that Āditya attained salvation during his lifetime (Vide stanza 80). Hence, we have to say that he was living during the reign of the three kings Sundaracola Parantaka, Āditya II Karikāla, and Uttamacola Madurantaka. We may assign to him the latter part of the 10th century.

SOMA SUNDARA DESIKAR

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Vedic Principles of the Constitution of a State

The relation between the rulers and the ruled is one of the most interesting themes dealt with in the Vedas, the oldest scriptures of the Hindus. The attention of scholars, both Indian and European, has perforce been attracted to hymns which deal with this absorbing topic. They all unanimously remark that the rājā of the Veda derives his power from the people. Zimmer in his 'Altindisches Leben,' p. 162, Weber in the 'Indische Studien', vol. XVII, p. 189 and Bloomfield in his 'Hymns of the Atharvaveda', p. 333 unequivocally observe that in the Veda there are references to the election of kings. Geldner substitutes acceptance for election (Vedische Studien, vol. II, p. 303). To Macdonell the wording of the verses appears to lend colour to either inference (Vedic Index, II, 211). Whatever the actual method adopted, the rājā depends for his administrataion, his security in office, his popularity and success in administration on the consent of his people. Acceptance of what, it might be asked, if there be no offering or proposing of candidates' names ? And in the early times, of which the Vedas profess to be the record, this offering or proposing could not but be out of a number of candidates.

The king has often been called "the father of the people." Characterisation of him as the offspring of his subjects is peculiar to the Vedas. The people are called his mother, as it is they that give birth to him, as it were, out of their womb and make him king.

In Yajurveda, x, 7 we read

> These people of common pleasure, of resplendent light, unconquerable, skilled in works and providing (for the king) a protection. The rājā who is the child of these subjects, makes his home in their (hearts) as in that of the greatest of mothers.

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And in the Atharvaveda, xv, 9, 1, 2:

> He goes after the subjects; the Sabhā, the Samiti, the army and majesty go after him.

In one place you find the people spoken of as the greatest of mothers to the king, in another the king is directed to follow the pleasures of his subjects, as it is then that the Sabhā, the Samiti and all that constitutes his kingship will follow him. These appear to be the fundamental principles, on which the edifice of the Vedic constitution of a State has been reared.

A question which naturally suggests itself to the student of Vedic Polity is how the acceptance or election of the king should, according to the Vedas, actually take place. The rājā recites before the people in the course of his coronation ceremony a number of verses, one of which may be rendered thus:

> Of strength art thou the wave that bestoweth sovereignty. Sovereignty on me bestow.
>
> Of strength art thou the host that bestoweth sovereignty. Sovereignty on me bestow.—Yajurveda, x, 2.

The authors of Brāhmaṇas substitute water for the people in this ceremony, and address this verse to water. They, however, state explicitly that the use of water is only symbolic.[1] The people to them are a sea, a few drops of whose might; sprinkled on the king, make him sovereign ruler. The rite of sprinkling water exists also in other countries.

In the Atharvaveda, III, v, 6, 7, the rājā, as he assumes the symbol of kingship, says:

> They that are skilled charioteers, wise artisans, draw them all, thou mighty symbol! towards me.
>
> They that are rājās, *makers of the rājā*, charioteers and heads of villages and towns, draw them all, thou powerful symbol! towards me.

1. Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, 7, 3, 1, 20

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Two points mentioned in these two verses are worthy of special attention. In verse 6, the rājā appears to be anxious to win the favour of even the poorest classes of his subjects. These classes are to be his special care. In verse 7, a class of men is spoken of simultaneously as "kings" and "makers of the king" *rājāno rājakṛtaḥ*. The phrase "makers of the king" we find used also in the Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyākāṇḍa, LXVII, 2, where on the death of Daśaratha, the question as to who should succeed him in the absence of Rāmacandra, who had then started on his exile, forms the subject of discussion. The poet says :

> As night ended and the sun rose, those twice-born who were *makers of the king* met in the assembly.

Vasiṣṭha proposed the name of Bharata, and the *makers of the king*, *rājakartāraḥ*, agreed to make him ruler.

Ere that event, a similar assembly had met on the occasion of choosing Rāmacandra as crown prince. In that assembly

> "The rājā called together principal men (*pradhānān*) of his dominion, who lived in different cities and belonged to different principalities." II, 1, 46

A little further in this very *Kāṇḍa* we read

> "Having perfectly understood the meaning of the words of Daśaratha who knew both politics and Dharma, the *Brāhmaṇas*, heads of the army, and those who had come from cities and principalities met in council, and said unanimously to the rājā who they knew was old." II, 5, 19, 20.

These, then, are "the makers of the rājā." They are spoken of in verse 46 of Sarga 1 as principal men—*Pradhānāḥ*.

Having indicated roughly what classes of men and women take part in the election of the king and then help him with their advice, we shall now see how these "makers of the rājā" extend to him the benefit of their counsel. In the Atharva-veda, VII, 12, the rājā says :

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"Let the Sabhā and the Samiti who supplement the rājā, help me with their concordance. Whomsoever I meet, let him, O fathers, teach me. On your assembling, let me speak well."

In this verse the Sabhā and the Samiti are styled *prajāpater duhitarau*. The members of the assemblies are addressed as *fathers*. This appellation continues to be used even now as the title of members of certain modern councils. As indicative of their age, experience and learning, as also of the high importance of the functions they are called upon to perform, the epithet is apposite. One more point worthy of note in the verse is that the rājā approaches the councillors to learn from them. How humble is this attitude of the king towards the deputies of the people!

His address continues (VII, xii, 3, 4):

"Of these that sit (in this house) I take to me the knowledge and glory. Mighty Lord! make me partaker of the gifts of this whole assembly.

Your minds that have wandered away, or are taken up with this or that theme, I draw to myself. Let them be occupied with me.

The last verse is a polite injunction on the part of the king that all councillors should attend to him.

At many other places, too, the rājā is mentioned in the Veda in conjunction with the Samiti. In a verse of the Ṛgveda, his dependence on it is compared to the dependence of mighty beasts on the forest.

Thus it is evident from the Vedic references that councillors who are the makers of the rājā constitute a power in the realm. The rājā knits the various interests of the country together. The councillors are drawn out of both military and civil sections of the population. In the Śanti-parva of the Mahābhārata (LXXXV, 7-9) we meet with the following allocation of the number of members to different classes of subjects:—

4 Brāhmaṇas, Vaidyas and Graduates

8 Kṣatriyas, strong and able to fight

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21 Vaiśyas possessed of ample wealth
3 Śūdras, pure and refined
1 Sūta 50 years old

The allocation of numbers is probably proportionate to the strength of each section of the population.

In the next verse it is laid down :

"Out of these, 8 ministers should be chosen to form the cabinet of the rājā."

In the Arthaśāstra[1] of Kauṭalya we find it laid down that the rājās should be guided by the opinion of the majority of the members of the *Mantriparişad* which Dr. Majumdar rightly takes to be a later substitute for the Vedic Samiti. If some of the members be absent, their opinion may be obtained in writing (Arthaśāstra, Mysore ed., p. 29).

In brief, we may take the Polity of the Veda to take its stand primarily on the village, which in all Indian systems is the unit of administration. In its internal matters every village is autonomous. To the central assembly of the country it sends representatives, who with the representatives of the military and certain other privileged sections of the population, having a special voice in the affairs of the realm on account of their high learning and gratuitous service, sit in council and choose out of themselves a rājā and give him members of his cabinet. The right to sit in the village assembly seems to belong to all adult citizens. In the Yajurveda (XXII, 22) we find the Purohita praying : May the son of yajamāna, when he comes of age (yuvā) be worthy to sit in the Sabhā.

What place is assigned to women in this constitution is a question that requires separate treatment. Here we can confine ourselves to a few hints only. The position of women in the Vedic society has been acknowledged by all to have been one of respect and equality with men. She is spoken of as the "praised one, the joyous one, one that is light, the

1 Shamashastry's Translation, p 33.

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unbreakable one, the goddess of knowledge, the great one, one that has learnt much" (Yajurveda, VIII, 43). In chapter XXXVIII, 3, of the Yajurveda, she is addressed as "the bond of law inviolate." Some of the titles applied to her in verse 43 of chapter VIII noted above are repeated here too (XXXVIII, 2). In verse 3 of chapter XXXVIII she is called "Indrāṇyā uṣṇīṣaḥ," the crest of polity. Vedic Polity thus seems to keep women invariably in the foreground. The Vedic householder, just as he is particular that the priest, *Brahmaṇaspati* should come to his *yajña*, takes care also that the lady of the house with sweet silvery speech, "devī sūnṛtā" should join him in the performance (Yajurveda, XXXVII, 7). She who was the equal partner of her husband in the social and religious concerns of his life could not have left him alone only in the Council Hall. In Atharvaveda, XII, 3, 52 the two spouses make expiation for lies spoken, among other places, in the assembly, *Samiti*, wherefrom it is clear that women are entitled to go to the assembly. Hymn 4 of Book III of the Atharvaveda is considered to have for its subject the election of a king. Among electors presumably are mentioned *Jāyāḥ*, women, who, it is desired, should be of one mind with the king-elect (III, 4,3). Maternal concerns may not leave women time for that busy and worried participation in the administrative and political affairs of the State, which, men, free from the cares for bringing up children, should reserve practically for themselves. But that they should be interested in the corporate activities of the State and that their interests should be adequately looked after seems to be clearly emphasised in this verse. The verse preceding it, viz., Atharvaveda, XII, 3, 52 appears to point to the practice of returning women to the assembly. A lovely title frequently applied in the Veda to women is *Purandhiḥ*, meaning "the support of civic life." This appellation puts the position of women in Vedic Polity in a nutshell.

This kind of constitution, of which the germs seem to

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have been laid in the Vedas, has, in an applied and developed form, continued to be in vogue in later times. The Buddha organised his Saṅgha on democratic principles, in imitation professedly of the system of administration in vogue in the States of those days.[1] In ancient inscriptions, of which copies have been collected in the epigraphical records of India, we come across not only occasional hints as regards the existence of Sabhās but sometimes also a detailed description of the qualifications of voters and candidates and the process of election.[2] Greek writers, too, who came to India, and made personal observation of the working of the administrative systems of this country, mention States that were being governed on republican and democratic lines.[3]

Democracy, therefore, is not foreign to the genius of the Indian people. Two very important peculiarities of the Vedic constitution of a State are, (1) the place of the king is that of the highest member of his assembly, and (2) every village or town has complete autonomy in its local management, and, thus internally free, it forms an organic part of the body politic of the whole country.

CHAMUPATI

1 Mahāparinibbāṇasutta, translated in S. B. E., vol XI, pp. 3f.

2 For instance Government Epigraphists' Report, 1899, p. 23 where in an inscription of Uttarmallu the extent of land and the amount of Vedic learning which a candidate should possess, and the method of writing on tickets the names of candidates and the solemn ceremony, which should attend the process of determining which candidate is successful, are described in detail.

3 Vide Arrian's India, McCrindle's translation, pp. 203, 212. Megasthenes, McCrindle's translation, pp. 40, 143f., 156.

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Seasons and the Year-beginning of the Hindus

Seasons are the most remarkable divisions of the year owing to the annual motion of the sun. In order to explain them clearly it is desirable that we should first of all mention some facts of modern astronomy relating to the sun's annual motion. On the 21st March, the sun's declination as well as right ascension are both zero; from 21st March to 21st June, his northerly declination increases from zero to 23½° and the right ascension also increases from zero to 90°; from 21st June to 23rd Sept., the northerly declination decreases from 23½° to zero, while the right ascension increases from zero to 180°; from 23rd Sept. to 21st December, the southerly declination increases from zero to 23½°, while the right ascension increases from 180° to 270°; from 21st Dec. to 21st March, the southerly declination decreases from 23½° to zero and the right ascension increases from 270° to 360°. The dates used are approximate ones. Near the epochs at which the declination is maximum, it changes very slowly. These are called solstices. Now since on the 21st of March, the declination of the sun is zero, his diurnal path will coincide with the equator, assuming that during that day there is no change of declination. Accordingly, the period during which the sun is above the horizon will be equal to the period during which he is below the horizon on that day. Thus, there will be equal day and night, throughout the earth. The same will be the case on the 23rd of Sept. These are called equinoxes. The line joining the positions of the sun at these epochs is the line of equinoxes. These four periods have got some peculiar characteristics. In northern latitudes from 21st March to 21st June the sun remains longer above the horizon than he is below it, during one solar day, and the days are, therefore, longer than the nights, the 22nd (or 21st) of June being the longest day. The opposite is the case in southern latitudes. Admitting that the accumulation of heat during the day bears some proportion to the duration of day-light and that the loss of heat during the night bears similar proportion to the duration of night, it is concluded that there will be continuous accumulation of heat during this period and that the period from 21st June to 23rd Sept., when also the days are longer than the nights in northern latitudes, will be hotter than the ones from 22nd March to 21st June, for the latter is preceded by winter (as will be shown presently), while

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the former is preceded by warm weather. Thus the period from 21st June to 23rd September is called Summer and the previous period, Spring. Again, from 23rd September to 21st December as well as from 21st December to 21st March (in northern latitudes), the sun remains longer below the horizon, the nights are longer than the days ; hence there will be continuous loss of heat, so that these two periods will be colder than the rest of the year. Moreover, the second period will be colder than the first; for while the second period is preceded by one which is already cold, the first is preceded by hot weather. Accordingly, the period from 21st December to 21st March is called Winter and that from 23rd September to 21st December is Autumn. Thus it is seen that the variation in the length of the day during the year causes a variation in the seasons and that the sun's annual motion is the cause of the seasons.[1] However, it may be mentioned here that the Indian seasons are not four but six in number, viz., Grīṣma, Varṣā, Śarat, Hemanta, Śita and Vasanta. Hence it is obvious that the seasons forming different epochs of one year determines the period of the year. Had there been no seasons, the period of the year would not have been determined; this is clear from the fact that a year began to be reckoned from one Summer, or Spring or Winter or Autumn to the next Summer or Spring or Winter or Autumn respectively when twelve lunar months were complete.

The Ṛgveda says that the sun is the cause of the terrestrial seasons.[2] In another place it is more explicit. It says, "They (the sun and moon) walk by their own power, one after the other (or from east to west), as playing children they go round the sacrifice. The one looks upon all the worlds, the other is born again and again, determining the seasons."[3]

That the seasons were six in number is mentioned several times in the Ṛgveda, and also their names are given in order in the Taittiriya Saṃhitā.[4] But in some places the number is given as five.[5] Here the Hemanta (dewy season) and the Śiśira (Winter) were combined into one. This is explicitly mentioned in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa—"there are five seasons owing to the combination of Hemanta

1 Vide Dr. D. N. Mallik's "Elements of Astronomy," pp. 92, 93.
2 Ṛgveda, i. 75. 3. 3 Ṛgveda, X. 85. 18.
4 Tait. Saṃhitā, IV. 3. 2 ; V. 6. 23 ; VII. 5. 14.
5 Tait. Br., ii. 7. 10 ; Ait. Br., i. 1.

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and Śiśira." That an attempt was made in the Taittirīya Saṃhitā, Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa to combine the Hemanta and Śiśira is shown in the Kālamādhava.[1] However, there are passages in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa where a variation in the number is mentioned. The general tendency was to fix the number at six.[2] The following is significant in this connection :—"The Spring, the Summer, and the Rains, these seasons represent the gods; and the Autumn, the Winter, and the dewy season represent the fathers."[3] The months of the six seasons are thus mentioned:—Madhu and Mādhava are the Spring months when plants sprout and trees are brought to ripeness; Śukra and Śuci are the Summer months, when the sun burns fiercest (Śukra means clear and Śuci bright); Nabhas and Nabhasya are the months of the rainy season (Nabhas means mist or cloud); Iṣa and Ūrja are the Autumn months because in the Autumn food (Ūrjā) and juice (plants) ripen; Sahas and Sahasya are the Winter months, because the Winter by force brings these creatures into his power; Tapas and Tapasya are the months of the dewy season, because during these months it freezes most severely.[4] In another passage it is said, "Rathagritsa and Rathaujas are the two Spring months, Rathasvana and Rathecitra are the two Summer months; Rathaprota and Asamaratha are the two rainy months; Tārkṣya and Ariṣṭanemi are the two Autumn months; Senajit and Suṣeṇa are the Winter months; Tapas and Tapasya are the two dewy months.[5] There are several passages in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa where five seasons are mentioned.[6] In this calculation the dewy season (Hemanta) is omitted.[7] In one place the number is given as three,[8] probably each season consisting of four months. It is interesting to note in this connection

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1 Mādhavācārya's Kālamādhava, Ṛtunirṇaya section.

2 Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, iii. 4. 3. 17; iii. 6. 4. 19; iv. 4. 5. 18; v. 5. 2. 4; vi. 3. 2. 10; vi. 7. 1. 18.

3 Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, ii. 1. 3. 3.

4 Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, iv. 3. 1. 14-19; Tait. Saṃhitā, 4. 11.

5 Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, viii. 6. 1. 16-21.

6 Ibid., ii. 1. 12; iii. 1. 45. 10; iii. 3. 3. 5. iii, 9. 4. 11; iii. 6. 4. 18; iv. 1. 1. 16. iv. 5. 5. 12; vi, 2. 2. 8; vii. 2. 3. 9; viii. 4. 1. 11; ix, 2, 1, 10; xi. 7. 4. 4.

7 Ibid., ii. 2. 3. 9.

8 Ibid., iii. 4. 4. 17.

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that mention has been made of seven seasons in a year in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.[1] In viii. 5. 4. 9. 10 after the mention of seven seasons rather a vague explanation has been sought to be given but in conclusion it has been remarked,"but indeed there are six seasons." In another place an attempt has been made to explain it further; in verses 9 to 14 (x. 2.5) the six seasons (Spring, Summer, rainy season, Autumn, Winter and dewy season) are described and then it is said that in addition to these there are three days,—the days and nights of that thirteenth and intercalary month,—which form the seventh season.

The system of nomenclature beginning with Madhu and Mādhava had been in vogue for a long time before it was replaced by the system of Caitra, Vaiśākha, etc. When did this system come into use? From the time when the Spring season was known to begin in Caitra. That Caitra and Vaiśākha were the Spring months is mentioned in the Purāṇas and the Mahābhārata, but in later books Phālguna and Caitra are said to be the Spring months. But nowhere in Indian literature Vaiśākha and Jyaiṣṭha are mentioned as the Spring months and Caitra a month of the dewy season. Thus it is seen that at first Caitra and Vaiśākha were the Spring months. In still earlier times Madhu and Mādhava came to be synonymous with Caitra and Vaiśākha. In our present system Phālguna and Caitra are the Spring months. It is, therefore, clear that the Spring season has receded roughly by two months and this could be caused in 4,300 years approximately. Thus the system of nomenclature, Caitra, Vaiśākha, etc. came into use as early as 2000 years before the Śaka era.[2] Vasanta was considered to be the first of the seasons, and the agrāyaneṣṭis or the half yearly sacrifices were required to be performed every Vasanta(Spring). The Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa remarks that Vasanta is the "mouth of the seasons";[3] upon this the author of Kālamādhava observes "saṃvatsaropakramarūpatvena vasantasya prāthamyaṃ draṣṭavyam."[4] It will be necessary to remind here that the Phālgunī full-moon was regarded as the "mouth of the year."[5] In the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa the year has been compared to a bird, Vasanta (Spring)

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1 Śat.Br., vi. 6. 1. 14; vi.6. 2. 7; viii. 4. 1. 23; ix.1.2.31; ix. 2. 3. 45.

2 Vide Prof. Jogesh Chandra Roy's "Our Astronomy and Astronomers," p. 161.

3 Tait. Brāhmaṇa, i. 1. 2. 6.

4 Kālamādhava, Calcutta Edition, p. 59.

5 Tait. Saṃ., vii. 4. 8.; Gopatha Br., vi. 19.

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is the head, Grīṣma (Summer) is the right wing, Varṣā (rainy season) is the tail, Śarat (Autumn) the left wing, and Hemanta (dewy season) is the middle part.[1] Here the Winter season has been left out.

About the division of the seasons Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa says, "After Prajāpati had created the living beings, his joints (parvan) were released. Now Prajāpati, doubtless, is the year and his joints are the two junctions of day and night (i.e., the twilights), the full-moon and new-moon, and the beginning of the seasons. He was unable to rise with his relaxed joints; and the gods healed him by means of these haviṣ-offerings; by means of the Agnihotra they healed that joint which consists of the two joints of day and night, joined that together; by means of the full-moon and new-moon sacrifice they healed that joint which consists of the full and new moon, joined that together and by means of the three cāturmāsyas (seasonal offerings) they healed that joint which consists of the beginnings of the seasons, joined that together."[2] This shows that the division of the seasons was at first felt necessary for regulating the seasonal sacrifices.

The passage from the Taittirīya Saṃhitā quoted above states that the Citrā and Phālgunī full-moons were the beginnings of the year. But why should the Citrā and the Phālgunī full-moon be called the beginnings of the year? Sāyaṇa thinks that they were so described because they occurred during Vasanta or the first of the seasons. This view Sāyaṇa propounds in his commentary on Taittirīya Saṃhitā, vii. 4. 8. Tilak does not consider the explanation satisfactory and he says, "According to all astronomical works Śiśira commenced with the Winter solstice, and the three seasons of Śiśira, Vasanta and Grīṣma were comprised in the Uttarāyaṇa as it was then understood. Now in the days of the Taittirīya Saṃhitā the Winter solstice fell in the month of Māgha, and Māgha and Phālguna were therefore comprised in Śiśira, and Caitra and Vaiśākha in Vasanta. But in order that Sāyaṇa's explanation might be correct Phālguna must fall in the Vasanta season which as a matter of fact, it did not."[3] Sāyaṇa, in his commentary on the Baudhāyanasūtra and also in the Kālamādhava (Cal. ed., pp. 60-61), tried to get rid of this difficulty by proposing a double Vasanta—lunar and solar, the lunar to include the months of Phālguna and Caitra, and the solar those of Caitra and Vaiśākha,

1 Tait. Br., vi. 10. 4. 1.
2 Śatapatha Br., i. 6. 3. 25-26.
3 Orion, pp. 62, 63.

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quoting amongst others Ṛv., x. 85. 18, as an authority to show that the seasons were regulated by the moon. Tilak remarks on this theory of two-fold seasons of Sāyaṇa: "The authorities quoted by Sāyaṇa are not explicit and sufficient to maintain the two-fold character of the seasons. It is true that the months in the calendar were all lunar, but the concurrence of the lunar and the solar year was always secured by inserting an intercalary month whenever necessary. Under such a system lunar seasons can have no permanent place. Now and then lunar months ceased to correspond with the seasons they represented, but this was at once set aright by the introduction of an intercalary month." Therefore, according to Tilak, if we exclude the correction due to the precession of the eqinoxes, which was too minute to be noticed till after hundreds of years, there was thus no reason why the lunar seasons should come to be regarded as a permanent institution. Moreover, a lunar year is shorter than the solar by 11 days. Hence, if the solar Vasanta commences on the 1st day of the lunar Caitra month this year, it will commence on the 12th day of Caitra (lunar) next year and 11 days later still in the third year, when by the introduction of an intercalary month the commencement of Vasanta will again be brought back to the 1st day of Caitra, thus showing that the two-fold character of the seasons may delay the beginning of Vasanta to Vaiśākha (lunar), but the season cannot be advanced and brought back to Phālguna. No doubt, in the 14th century when Sāyaṇa flourished, the Vasanta season commenced, as it does now, in the month of Phālguna; but it was so because of the Winter solstice having receded by over full one month by that time. This was not understood by Sāyaṇa and hence he attempted to reconcile the difference on the theory of two-fold character of the seasons. Moreover, several Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras pronounce the full-moon night of the month of Phālguna to be the first night of the year. Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (vi. 2. 2. 18) says, "the Phālgunī full-moon is the first night of the year; the Taittirīya (i. 1. 2. 8) and the Śāṅkhāyana (iv. 5; v. 1) Brāhmaṇas contain similar passages, while the Gopatha (i. 19) after stating that the Uttara and the Pūrva Phālgunī are respectively the beginning and the end of the year, adds "just as the two ends of a thing meet so these two termini of the year meet together." The Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa (v. 9) also says the same thing.

Thus it is seen that in the early Vedic times the year began when the sun was in the vernal equinox; and as the sun then passed from

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the south to the north of the equator it was also the commencement of his northern passage. In other words, the Uttarāyaṇa (according to the several astronomical works, Uttarāyaṇa is the period of the year from the Winter to the Summer solstice[1]), Vasanta, the year and the satras all commenced together at the vernal equinox. The autumnal equinox which came after the rains was the central day of the year; and the latter half of the year was named the Pitṛyāna or what is called now the Dakṣiṇayāna. Later on, the commencement of the year was changed from the vernal equinox to the Winter solstice. It is difficult to ascertain definitely the time of the change. But the change must have been introduced long before the vernal equinox was in the Kṛttikās, and when this change was made Uttarāyaṇa must have gradually come to mean the first half of the new year, i.e., the period from the Winter to the Summer solstice. Now the Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa makes the year commence with the Winter solstice, and there are passages in the Śrauta Sūtras which enjoin that the annual sacrifices like the Gavām-ayana, should be commenced at the same time.[2] The Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa gives the following positions of the solstices and equinoxes:—(*a*) The Winter solstice in the beginning of Śraviṣṭhā (Dhaniṣṭhā), (*b*) the vernal equinox in 10° of Bharaṇī or the beginning of the Kṛttikās, (*c*) the Summer solstice in the middle of Aśleṣā, and (*d*) the Autumnal equinox in 3°. 20′ of Vaiśākhā. Thus the first year of the cycle commenced with the Winter solstice when the sun and the moon were together at the beginning of Dhaniṣṭhā and the Uttarāyaṇa also began at the same time. Taking the data given in the Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa as his basis, the late Kṛṣṇa Śāstrī Godbole has thus calculated the position of the four cardinal points of the ecliptic, when the Winter solstice as stated in the Brāhmaṇas, occurred on the full-moon day in the month of Phālguna:—(*a*) the Winter solstice in 3° 20′ of the divisional Uttara Bhādrapada, (*b*) the vernal requinox in the beginning of Ārdrā, (*c*) the Summer solstice in 10° of Uttara Phālgunī, and (*d*) the Autumnal equinox in the middle of Mūlā.

The four cardinal points have been thus defined by Sūryasiddhānta.[3]—"In the middle of the starry sphere, the equinoxes are diametrically opposed, so are the two solstices (in the ecliptic)."

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1 Sūryasiddhānta, chap. xiv, 10; Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa, 5.

2 Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa, 5; Āśvālayana-Śrauta-sūtra, i. 2. 14. 1; ii. 2. 14. 3 and 22; Kātyāyana-Śrauta-sūtra, v. 1. 1.

3 Sūryasiddhānta, chap. xiv, verse 7.

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Now to understand this change in the beginning of the year, it is necessary to remember that the solar year was sidereal and not tropical[1] and that the great object of the calendar was to ascertain the proper time of the seasons. This necessitated a change in the beginning of the year, every two thousand years or so, to make it correspond with the cycle of natural seasons. The difference between the sidereal and the tropical year is 20·4 minutes, which causes the seasons to fall back nearly one lunar month in about two thousand years, if the sidereal solar year be taken as the standard of measurement.

Therefore, the beginning of the year was twice altered owing to the precession of the equinoxes, and there are sufficient materials in Indian literature to indicate the intermediate changes. The tradition of Rudra killing Prajāpati, the god of time, for receding towards his daughter Rohiṇī, described in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa[2] and later in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa,[3] can be interpreted as suggesting the great surprise felt at the first notice of these changes. The ancient Hindus, who observed the fact as they watched the Nakṣatras at the commencement of the year, could not account for the change, and they rightly and honestly believed that it was a great calamity that the sun or Prajāpāti (yajña or the year) should thus follow an unprecedented course. Prajāpati, however, was left to be punished for his unusual conduct, and there the matter ended for the time being. But the question was again taken up when the equinox had receded to the Kṛttikās. The seasons had fallen back by one full month and the ancient Hindus altered the year-beginning from the Phālgunī to the Maghā full-moon, while the list of Nakṣatras was made to commence from the Kṛttikās, instead of from Agrahāyaṇa. This was quietly done, because the calendar was mainly used for sacrificial purposes, and when it was actually observed that the sun was in the Kṛttikās, and not in the Mārgaśiras, when day and night were equal, the commencement of the year was altered to the Kṛttikās, specially as it was more convenient to do so at that time when the cycle of seasons has fallen back by one month. But it is doubtful whether the real cause was discovered or any attempt was made for

1 The sidereal year was used even in the Sūryasiddhānta, though the motion of the equinoxes was then discovered. Sūryasiddhānta I, 13.

2 Ait. Br., iii. 33. 3 Śat. Br., i. 7. 4. 1.

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the discovery. The third change was introduced by the Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa, when the seasons had further receded by a fortnight and not by a month. The beginning of the month was altered from the full-moon to the new-moon during this period, and when this change was effected in the beginning of the month, the year was made to commence, owing to the falling back of the seasons by a fortnight, with the new-moon in Dhaniṣṭhā, as the Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa has done. The next change was introduced and put into effect by Varāhamihira in the beginning of the 6th century A.C. when the list of the Nakṣatras was made to begin with Aśvinī. There is, however, the record of an intermediate attempt to reform the calendar in the Mahābhārata[1] and this attempt which proved abortive was made when it was noticed that the seasons had again receded by a fortnight. In the 71st chapter of Ādiparvan it is narrated that Visvāmitra attempted to create a new world and to make the Nakṣatras begin with Śravaṇā, instead of Dhaniṣṭhā, and this story also occurs in the 44th chapter of Aśvamedhaparvan. This tradition can also be found in other Purāṇas where Visvāmitra is represented as endeavouring to create a new celestial sphere. It appears, however, that he did not succeed, and the Kṛttikā system as modified by the Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa continued to regulate the calendar until Varāhamihira made the list of Nakṣatras begin with Aśvinī and this last system is even now being used.[3]

In Varāhamihira's time the vernal equinox coincided with the end of Revatī and the Summer solstice with Punarvasu; but in two places Varāhamihira has distinctly referred to the older position of the solstices recorded by writers who preceded him. In the Pañcasiddhāntikā he says, "when the return of the sun took place from the middle of Aśleṣā, the tropic (ayana) was then correct. It now takes place from Punarvasu."[4] Again in the Bṛhatsaṃhitā,[5] he mentions the same older position of both the solstitial points and

1 Mahābhārata, Ādiparvan, chap. 71, verse 34.

2 Mahābhārata, Aśvamedhaparvan, chap. 44, verse 2.

3 Tilak's Orion, pp. 212-216.

4 Pañcasiddhāntikā, edited by Thibaut and Sudhākar Dvivedī. It has as follows:—

Āśleṣārdhād āsīd yadā nivṛttiḥ kiloṣṇakiraṇasya/
Yuktam ayanaṃ tadāsīt sāmpratam ayanaṃ punarvasutaḥ//

5 Bṛhatsaṃhitā, chap. iii, 1 and 2.

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appeals to his readers to ascertain by actual observation which of the two positions of the solstices is the correct one, whether older position of the solstices or the position given by himself. Now in the days of Varāhamihira the change introduced by the Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa was in vogue and, therefore, there existed works which placed the Winter solstice in the beginning of (divisional) Dhaniṣṭhā and the Summer solstice in the middle of Aśleṣā. In corroboration of the statement by Varāhamihira Bhaṭṭotpala in his commentary on Bṛhatsaṃhitā, chapter iii, verse 1, quotes Garga as follows:— "śraviṣṭhādyāt pauṣṇārdhaṃ caratah śiśirah." This is further corroborated by other quotations by later commentators from the works of Garga and Parāśara.[1] This proves, without doubt, that the system in which the year commenced with the month of Māgha, i.e., from the winter season was once actually in vogue. Amarasiṃha states that the seasons were comprised of two months each, beginning with Māgha and three such seasons make one ayana.[2] In the Mahābhārata[3] it is related that Bhīṣma, who possessed the superhuman power of choosing the time of his death, was awaiting on his deathbed for the return of the sun towards the north from the Winter solstice and that this event took place in the first half of the month of Māgha. It is, therefore, clear that the Winter solstice coincided in those days with the beginning of Dhaniṣṭhā, and this must have been the case as the calendar modified by the Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa, which made the year begin with the Winter solstice in the month of Māgha when the sun and the moon were together at the beginning of Dhaniṣṭhā and when the Uttarāyaṇa also began, was in vogue.

Thus we find that in the days of the Ṛgveda at the vernal equinox, when the day and night were equal, the sun was in the Mṛgaśiras and according to Tilak the sun was at first in the Punarvasu; at the time of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa the sun was then in the Rohiṇī or in the Kṛttikās just preceding Rohiṇī; and at the time of the Taittirīya Saṃhitā and the later Brāhmaṇas the sun was distinctly in the Kṛttikās at the vernal equinox. In the Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa the first year of the cycle began with the Winter solstice when the sun and the moon came together at the beginning of Śraviṣṭhā (Dhaniṣṭhā),

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1 Garga quoted by Somakara on Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa, verse 5.

2 Amarasiṃha, i. 4. 13. "dvau dvau māghādimāsau syādṛtus tairayanaṃ triviḥ."

3 Mahābhārata, Anuśāsanaparvan, chap. 167, verses 27 and 28.

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then it was the new-moon of the month of Māgha and the Uttarāyaṇa began; the Dakṣiṇāyana or southerly motion of the sun began in the month of Śrāvaṇa when the sun was in the middle of Sarpa or Aśleṣā and the moon was in Citrā. During the Uttarāyaṇa, i.e., during the period of the year from the Winter to the Summer solstice the duration of day (i.e., the period during which day-light lasts) increases and that of night decreases; the reverse takes place during the Dakṣiṇāyana journey of the sun. But Tilak denies the fact that the year could at any time begin with the Winter solstice. He says that a closer consideration of the ceremonies performed in the yearly satras (sacrifices) will show that the Winter solstice could never have been the original beginning of these satras. "The middle day of the annual satra is called the Viṣuvan day, and it is expressly stated that this central day divides the satra into two equal halves, in the same way as the Viṣuvan or the equinoctial day divides the year.[1] The satra was thus the imitation of the year in every respect, and originally it must have corresponded exactly with the course of the year. Now, as Viṣuvan literally means the time when day and night are of equal length, if we suppose the year to have at the time commenced with the Winter solstice, the Viṣuvan or the equinoctial day could never have been its central day, and the middle day of the satra would correspond not with the equinoctial, as it should, but with the Summer solstice."[2] Here we find that Tilak's main argument was based on the fact that if the year began with the Winter solstice Viṣuvan would then divide the year in the proportion of 3 to 9, i.e., three months on one side of the Viṣuvan and nine on the other, instead of Viṣuvan being the central day. It has been said in the beginning that Vasanta was regarded in the Vedic times the first season of the year. Probably there were only three seasons—Grīṣma, Varṣā and Hemanta—at the time of the Ṛgveda. In fact, these are the three seasons of India. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa has also in one place mentioned only three seasons. Regarding the Uttarāyaṇa and Dakṣiṇāyana paths of the sun, the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa lays down that "Vasanta, Grīṣma and Varṣā are the seasons of the Devas, Śarat, Hemanta and Śiśira those of the Pitṛs, the increasing fortnight is of the Devas, the decreasing one of the Pitṛs, the forenoon is of the Devas, the afternoon of the Pitṛs. When the sun turns to the north he is amongst

1 Ait. Br., iv. 22; Taitt. Br., i. 2. 3. 1; Tāṇḍya Br., iv. 7. 1.

2 Tilak's Orion, p. 21.

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the Devas and protects them, when he turns to the south he is amongst the Pitṛs and protects them."[1] This shows clearly that the Uttarāyaṇa of the sun began from the vernal equinox and was for six months, and the Dakṣiṇāyana began from the autumnal equinox and was also for six months. But in course of time the Uttarāyaṇa came to mean the period of the year from the Winter to the Summer solstice, that is the period from the time when the sun turns towards the north till it returns towards the south. This might have been a mistake as Tilak said, but this was the view held by the Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa. At a later period, however, the year was again made to begin from the vernal equinox.

Next we come to the period of the Saṃhitās. Varāhamihira in his Bṛhat Saṃhitā, while giving the reason for his writing the book says that he will compile in a summary form the views lying scattered in the various saṃhitās written by the ancient authors. Therefore, it may be safely inferred that much of the Bṛhatsaṃhitā, if not the whole, was taken from the ancient Saṃhitās.[2] There we find that the Saṃhitās recognised six seasons to comprise the year which began with Śiśira (Winter) and that the year commenced with the beginning of the Uttarāyaṇa journey of the sun. In the Bṛhatsaṃhitā (Ādityā-cārādhyāya) Śiśira (winter) has been mentioned as the first season of the year. This meant that the year began with the Winter solstice. Bhaṭṭotpala, the commentator, has in his commentary on the above passage of the Bṛhatsaṃhitā, given a table for the months of the seasons prevalent at the time of the old Saṃhitās. In the Bṛhatsaṃhitā (Utpātādhyāya, verse 84) Varāhamihira has mentioned Madhu and Mādhava as the Spring months. But then spring comprised the two months Caitra and Vaiśākha. Therefore, Winter must have begun from Māgha and the year beginning with Winter must necessarily have commenced from Māgha. This was the change introduced by the Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa which made the year commence with the Winter solstice and this was in vogue till the time of Varāhamihira. He found that in his time the vernal equinox coincided with the end of Revatī and the Summer solstice with Punarvasu. In the Pañcasiddhāntikā he remarks, "when the return of the sun took place from the middle of Aśleṣā, the tropic was then correct. It now

1 Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, ii. 1. 3. 1-3.

2 Prof. Jogesh Chandra Roy's "Our Astronomy and Astronomers," p. 52.

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takes place from Punarvasu.' Varāhamihira, therefore, introduced a change in the year-beginning and made the list of Nakṣatras commence with Aśvinī. The year was then, again, made to begin with the vernal equinox, and it was from that time that the Spring season came to comprise the two months Phālguna and Caitra. This modified year-beginning introduced by Varāhamihira has since then been current in India and is even now regarded as the correct year-beginning.

Now one thing still remains to be discussed. Why is the year called Varṣa? There must have some connection with Varṣā (rainy season), and it is surmised that the year must have come to acquire this denomination from the fact of the year beginning with Varṣā or rainy season at some time or other; that is, the year must have been made to begin with the commencement of the Dakṣiṇāyana course. But this is found neither in the Vedas nor in the later Brāhmaṇas and Saṃhitās, nor is there any mention of this fact in the Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa. However, Kauṭilya, in his Arthaśāstra, says that the year in his time began with the Summer solstice at the end of Āṣāḍha.[1] A detailed explanation is found in the Sūryaprajñapti where an account of the seasons is given. There it is said that the seasons commence with the Āṣāḍha month, though the cycle of five years commences with the 1st day of the dark half of the month of Śrāvaṇa. Sūryaprajñapti was written by Mahāvīra and this is the only astronomical work of the Jaina astronomers which is now available. The Sūryaprajñapti mentions the seasons as follows:—the Rains, the Autumn, the dewy season, the Spring, and the Summer. Here we notice that Hemanta and Śiśira have been combined into one and the seasons are five in number. The year has been made to begin with the rainy season. It is then stated that the seasons are of two kinds, the solar and the lunar. The solar season is equal to two solar months or 61 days, but the cold season has got four months. Regarding the lunar seasons it is said that in one sidereal revolution of the moon, the lunar seasons are six. Hence in the cycle of 5 years which is equal to 67 sidereal revolutions of the moon there are $6 \times 67 = 402$ lunar seasons. In one lunar season there are $4\frac{3}{67}$ days. The reason for this is as follows:—One sidereal revolution of the moon = 6 seasons. Now one sidereal revolution is equal to $27\frac{21}{67}$ days. Therefore, one season is equal to $27\frac{21}{67} \div 6 = 4\frac{3}{67}$ days.

1 Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra, Book II, Kālamāna.

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Now let us come to the description of the seasons in the astronomical Siddhāntas. We have already said that Varāhamihira made the year begin with the vernal equinox in the months of Phālguna. But in the Sūryasiddhānta the year has been described to begin with the Winter solstice. Sūryasiddhānta says, "from the Winter solstice, the periods during which the sun remains in two signs are the seasons named successively :—(1) Śiśira (very cold), (2) Vasanta (spring), (3) Grīṣma (hot), (4) Varṣā (rainy season), (5) Śarat (Autumn) and (6) Hemanta (cold).[1] This clearly shows that the Sūryasiddhānta used the system which was in vogue before the time of Varāhamihira and it was the system introduced by the Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa. There is, therefore, no doubt that this portion of the present Sūryasiddhānta which exactly tallies with the description given in the text of the Sūryasiddhānta included in Varāhamihira's Pañcasiddhāntikā, must have come down from the ancient Saurasiddhānta. However, Bhāskara begins the seasons from Vasanta and in giving a descriptive account of the six seasons he has indulged his love for poetry, endeavouring to write something calculated to satisfy the fancy of men of literary taste.[2]

We have thus given in detail the traditional year-beginnings along with the seasons recorded in the Vedic literature, in the Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa and the later Siddhānta works. This is a continuous record of the year-beginnings from the oldest time down to the present day in the religious as well as astronomical literature of India. This account of the successive attempts of the ancient Hindus for regulating the calendar so that the year might concur with the seasons, gives a conclusive proof of their sound knowledge of the astronomical phenomena like the precession of the equinoxes and is a living testimony to their keen interest for and deep insight into the changing mysteries of the heavens.

SUKUMAR RANJAN DAS

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1 Sūryasiddhānta, chap. XIV, verse 10.
2 Siddhantaśiromaṇi, chap. xii, verses 1-10.

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Asoka's mission to Ceylon and some connected problems

There is yet considerable difference of opinion regarding the date and the process of the conversion of Ceylon to Buddhism, and scholars are not wanting who hold that although Ceylonese Buddhism is an undeniable fact it is difficult to believe that it was the work of Aśoka, and that Mahendra and Saṅghamitrā were ever historical persons entrusted with the mission. V. A. Smith[1] cites the authority of Oldenberg[2] to show that the entire account as given in the Ceylon chronicles is a myth and that the inscriptions of Aśoka are silent about Ceylon. Buddhism certainly was introduced into Ceylon at an early date, but the process was much slower than it is generally represented to have been.

Subsequently this opinion seems to have been modified when, in the Early History of India (4th Ed., 1924, pp. 193, 195), it is admitted that Aśoka is responsible for the conversion of Ceylon, but it took place late in his reign. This conclusion is apparently based on the following assumptions :—

(1) Aśoka's inscriptions, particularly R. E., II and XIII, while mentioning the foreign missions of the great Buddhist Emperor of India, are absolutely silent about Ceylon and Mahendra and Sanghamitrā.

(2) Aśoka mentions *Tāmraparṇi* in the above two Rock Edicts, but it is to be taken as meaning the river of that name which flows through the Tinnevelli district in the extreme south of the peninsula.[3]

(3) It is difficult to believe that Mahendra came flying through the air, "as flies the king of swans," and that his first discourse converted the king and forty thousand of his subjects.[4] It is rather more natural to suppose that as Aśoka's mission to the Tamil countries

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1 Ind. Ant. 1918, pp. 48-9 ; Aśoka (R. I. Series, 1919), pp. 47-8.

2 Intro. to the Vinayapiṭakam, by Oldenberg, vol. 1, pp. lii-lv.

3 Imp. Gaz. of India (1908), sub. voc. Tambraparni, pp. 215-16 ; Hultzsch, JRAS. (1910), p. 1310, n. 4. Hultzsch, Corpus Ins. Ind. (vol. I), p. xxxix ; p. 3, n. 10. Although he revises his opinion and takes Tāmraparṇi to mean Ceylon, he still maintains that it was the name of a river in S. India. Apparently he keeps the problem open.

4 V. Smith, Aśoka, p. 50.

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was quite successful, as testified by the Chinese travellers of the 5th and 7th centuries. Mahendra took ship at some port in southern India and adopted steps for the conversion of Ceylon.[1]

The fact that we do not find in the inscriptions of Aśoka any mention of Mahendra and Saṅghamitrā is in no way surprising. Aśoka's inscriptions are very terse; they do not give us any names, either of the prince governors or officers or the Buddhist sages who found favour with him, and even the Emperor's name occurs in only one inscription (Maski). In R. E., XIII where the foreign missions are mentioned, they are not associated with any names save that of Piyadasi, and therefore it is but natural that even if they include the Ceylonese mission it would not give us the names of persons who conducted the movement. An *argumentum silentio* is no argument, and we cannot infer from it the non-existence of Mahendra and the impossibility of the Ceylonese mission. Moreover, the names of Mahendra and Saṅghamitrā were certainly more important and venerable to the monks of Ceylon than to Aśoka himself, and while R. E., XIII speaks only of the foreign missions and not of the missioners, the monkish chronicles give a detailed account of these missions and of the missioners associated with them.[2]

Regarding the contention whether the inscriptions of Aśoka refer to Ceylon, it is easier to be precise. The pivot of controversy is the word 'Tambapanni' occurring in R. E., XIII in connection with the foreign missions. 'Tambapanni,' no doubt, may mean the Tinnevelli district in the extreme south. But it is a modern identification,[3] and we are not sure if that was the name of the river in the Aśokan age. If we are to arrive at a proper identification, we must know what country in the days of Aśoka was called by that name. Here both indigenous and foreign sources come to our aid.

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1 V. Smith, Aśoka, pp. 48-50.

2 Geiger, Mahāvaṃśa, p. 82.

3 Imp. Gaz. of Ind. (1908), pp. 215-16.

'The Tamils 1800 years ago' by V. Kanaka Sabhai, p. 23. The river Tāmraparṇi became important in later times. Its old name, in Tamil, was 'Sembil.'

In the Beginnings of S. Ind. Hist. by S. K. Aiyangar, pp. 62-3 a passage is quoted from the Rāmāyaṇa to prove the existence of the river in S. India; but as the author admits, the passage in question may be comparatively modern.

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In the chronicles of Ceylon we get a full account of the names by which the island was known. In the days of the three former Buddhas the island had the names of Ojadīpa, Varadīpa and Maṇḍadīpa.[1] At the time of Buddha, and consequently of Vijaya, the port of landing and the city founded near it, was called Tambapanni.[2] At the time of Vijaya's successor Pāṇḍuvāsadeva the port was called 'Tammena'.[3] It was also called Tammapanni in the days of Mahendra and consequently of Aśoka, and the island was so called because the dust of the place which stuck to the hands and knees of Mahendra and his followers was copper-coloured.[4] The name, therefore, was that of the port and the city originally, but afterwards it covered the whole island.

Foreign writers also speak of Ceylon under the name of 'Taprobane'. In the 1st century A.C. Ptolemy wrote : "Opposite Cape Kory, which is in India, is the projecting point of the island of Taprobane, which was called formerly Simoundou, and now Salike."[5] We may remark here that Simoundou probably stands for Maṇḍadīpa mentioned in the Ceylon chronicles. The author of the Periplus,[6] belonging to the same country as Ptolemy, says that the old name of the island was 'Taprobane'.

These foreign accounts of the post-Aśokan period are also confirmed by an almost contemporary account, that of Megasthenes. Megasthenes says that "Taprobane is separated *from the mainland* by a river ; that the inhabitants are called Palaiogonoi, and that their country is more productive of gold and large pearls *than India*."[7] It is therefore reasonable to hold that Tambapanni referred to in Aśoka's R.E. II and XIII stands for Ceylon and not for the Tāmraparṇi river in Southern India (which is a comparatively modern name) or the adjoining country.

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1 Dīp., I, 73; IX, 20 ; Mahā., XV, 59, 93, 127.

2 Dīp., IX, 31 ; Rājāvali, p. 16 (Gunasekara) where it is called Tammanna-Ṭota.

3 Rājāvali, p. 20.

4 Dīp., IX, 30, 31.

5 M'Crindle's Ancient India as described by Ptolemy, p. 247.

6 Schoff, p. 47.

7 M'Crindle's Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian, p. 62.

The reference to Tāmraparṇika as a kind of gem in Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra (Book II, ch. XI) is not relevant to our enquiry, as the problem of the age of the treatise is still an open question.

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The Ceylonese story of Mahendra's aerial flight to the island may be a little over-done, but it is quite of a piece with other stories connected with the foreign missions. Almost all the missioners are said to have possessed "great magical powers," and many of them, besides Mahendra, pass through the air and perform other miracles.[1] The point, therefore, is taken out of the argument of V.A. Smith that it was from a southern port, and not directly, that Mahendra went over to the island. On the other hand, there are undeniable facts to show that Mahendra went straight to Ceylon and that the Tāmil country had very little to impose, in matters of religion at least, upon the neighbouring island. The arrival of Mahendra was not, as Smith holds, synchronous with the first intrusion of Buddhistic ideas, nor is it tenable as Cunningham[2] supposes, that there was no intercourse between India and Ceylon before Mahendra. In spite of their legendary character, the Ceylon chronicles enable us to arrive regarding the matter under enquiry at some general truths, which only stiff scepticism can deny. In the Dīpavaṃśa, mention is made of the visits of the previous Buddhas, Kakusandha, Koṇāgamana and Kassapa. This may be a pure fiction. But the account that Vijaya landed in Ceylon and established the historical dynasty of the island, that Pāṇḍuvāsadeva came from India to succeed Vijaya, that he married a Śākya princess brought over from India, that Pāṇḍukābhaya built religious edifices for Nirgranthas, Brāhmaṇas, Parivrājakas and Ājīvikas, and that Devānaṃpiya Tissa sent a mission to Aśoka who was Tissa's "dear ally" has a value of its own when taken together, and it points unmistakably to the conclusion that from the time of Vijaya onwards there was a constant intercourse between India and Ceylon, which might have influenced the socio-religious ideas of the islanders so as to make them afterwards amenable to the teachings of Aśoka.[3] That the way was gradually prepared for the introduction of Buddhism is also borne out by the inscriptions of Aśoka. In R.E. II, Aśoka says that everywhere in his dominions and in the frontier kingdoms of the Colas, Pāṇḍyas Keralaputras, Satiyaputras, and of Tāmraparṇi, as well as in those of king Antiochus and his neighbours he had established medical treatment of two kinds, that for men and that for animals. We are fully aware of the

1 Dīp., VIII, 5-12 ; Mahā., XII, 11, 31.
2 Anc. Geo. of India, p. 561.
3 Eliot, Hinduism and Buddhism, vol. III, pp. 13, 14.

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existence of diplomatic relations between the Maurya sovereigns and the kings of Syria which might have facilitated Aśoka's philanthropic measures. Is it too much to hold, in a similar strain, that in the case of Ceylon also there had been, from an earlier time, relations of some sort with the Magadha house? Aśoka's R.E. II does not mean the introduction of Buddhism, but of the Buddhistic idea of kindness and non-killing, which paved the way for the introduction, later on, of Buddhism proper, as recorded in a subsequent edict, R.E., XIII.

Nor, in the absence of any positive proof, can it be maintained that it was from the Tāmil country that Mahendra went over to the island. In fact, there are traditions which cannot be altogether neglected, pointing to the conclusion that Aśoka's missions were not as successful in the Tāmil country as in Ceylon, that Ceylon maintained a cultural integrity of its own and to some extent influenced, rather than being itself influenced by, the religion of the mainland.

The story of the famine of 12 years in the time of Candragupta Maurya, during which a section of the Jaina community under Bhadrabāhu migrated to Southern India, is associated with the abdication of Candragupta Maurya and his death at Śrāvaṇa-Belgoḷā in Beloḷa in Mysore.[1]

It shows that Jainism in Southern India was older than the Buddhism of Aśoka by at least half a century. In the days of Aśoka, the older religion might have been pushed back by Buddhism, but that the latter was not a popular cult and did not have a permanent hold on the country is evident from the subsequent history of the South. In Hemacandra's Pariśiṣṭaparvan (XI, 89-102) it is related that Samprati, the successor of Aśoka and a zealous convert to the Jaina faith, sent missionaries to the Andhras and the Dramilas, brought the uncivilised nations under the influence of Jainism and made the southern country fit for the settlement of Jaina monks. That this story is not a pure fiction but has a substratum of truth is amply borne out by the fact that notwithstanding Aśoka's Buddhistic propaganda the southern nations ultimately gave up Buddhism and came to cherish the Digambara Jainas and the Śaiva religion.[2] At

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1 Lewis Rice, Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions, pp. 4 ff. V. Smith, Early History of India, 4th Edition, pp. 154, 458.

2 S. K. Aiyanger, Beginnings of South Indian History, pp. 99, 100. The Mauryas were in hostile occupation of forts on the

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the time of Hiuen Tsang, in the Cola country and the country round about Madura the few Buddhist monasteries were in a ruinous condition ;[1] in the Pāṇḍya and Pallava countries there were numerous Hindu gods and Jaina temples and ascetics. Not only this, the Buddhism of Southern India owed a great deal to Ceylon, and Conjeeveram was long a Buddhist centre which kept up intercourse with both Ceylon and Burma.[2]

Having established the hypothesis[3] that 'Tambapanni' of the Aśokan edicts is no other than Ceylon, and that Ceylonese Buddhism was not a graft from the Southern Indian stock but a direct import from the north, it would be well for us now to attempt to find out the date of the conversion of Ceylon.

References to Tambapanni are found only in R.E.s II and XIII. Of these, as we have seen, R.E. II concerns itself with the provision of medical treatment in the foreign countries, and not with the introduction of Buddhism. The conversion of these countries was a later achievement for which the way was prepared by Aśoka's philanthropic activities in these regions. Hence it follows that R.E. XIII was later in date than R.E. II, and in fact, it is more reasonable to hold that the edicts of Aśoka are not complete sets, as Senart indicates,[4] but rescripts incised at different times, either singly or in groups as occasions arose.[5] This conclusion is strengthened by the following facts among others :

(1) Referring to the Kalsi rock, Hultzsch (Corpus, XI) admits that as the last portion of the inscription is written in a bolder type and

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northern border of the Tāmil land, and hostility between Southern Hinduism and Northern Buddhism led to the expulsion of the northerners when the paramount power weakened.

1 Watters, Yuan Chwang, vol. II, pp. 224, 228.

2 Eliot, Hinduism and Buddhism, vol. I, p. xxv.

3 My conclusions have been confirmed, although in an indirect way, by Soma Sundara Desikar's article, the Mauryan Invasion of Tamilakam (IHQ., vol. IV, no. I, pp. 135 ff.).

4 Ind. Ant., 1891, pp. 236ff.

5 H. K. Dev quoted in D. R. Bhandarkar's Aśoka, pp. 47, 47 n.1 266ff. Prof. Bhandarkar began with a correct assumption but ended with the conclusion that the dates in the different Rock Edicts refer to the events narrated and not to the actual engraving, and that the whole set was engraved as one document late in his reign.

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a separate face of the rock is utilised, this last portion probably was of a later date.

(2) Portions of the 13th Edict of the Shahbazgarhi group were traced out on the back of the main rock (Corpus, XII).

(3) The Dhauli rock does not contain Edicts XI to XIII of the Girnar version, but compensates for them by two separate edicts (Corpus, XIII).

(4) The Mansera group is engraved on three boulders ; the 13th and the 14th are incised on the third boulder (Corpus, XII, XIII).

(5) At Jaugaḍa the main set is inscribed in two tablets, and a third tablet contains the two additional edicts and are enclosed in a separate frame (Corpus, XIV).

(6) The Delhi-Topra pillar is unique of its kind, because it alone gives the seventh and the most important edict. But the concluding portion of this last edict runs all round the pillar (Corpus, XVI). This shows that probably it was incised last, at a later date, and therefore, for want of space, which was originally calculated to contain six and not seven edicts, the last one was made to run round the whole shaft.

(7) The three Minor Rock Inscriptions of the Mysore State (Siddhapura, Brahmagiri and Jatinga-Rāmeśvara) contain an extra edict which is not found in the northern versions.

(8) The Girnar R.E.s are all separately engraved and separated by horizontal lines. The reason probably is that as each edict was written, it was thought fit by the engraver to mark off the preceding one by a line.

(9) Each edict begins with the word 'Devānaṃpiya' and gives a separate sentiment. It is a self-contained whole, and the connection between the edicts in one inscription is more accidental than real. It is quite possible that there should not be any incongruity in the edicts being placed together, as the ideas of Aśoka are everywhere almost the same, all pertaining to the Dhamma he inculcated.

(10) The edicts of Aśoka give different dates in one and the same inscription. Nowhere is a date given which may be regarded as the date of the entire inscription. Either a single edict or a group of edicts is dated out of the whole set, and therefore there were different engravings at different times with dates.

If we assume, therefore, that the edicts in each inscription were not inscribed as a complete set, but at different dates on different occasions, we shall not be wrong if we assign the R. E.s specially to

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different dates. Some of them were engraved in the 13th, and some in the 14th year after Aśoka's coronation. But the real difficulty lies with the dating of the 13th R. E. which gives an account of the foreign missions. Senart and others who have taken the series as one document have unhesitatingly assigned the edict in question to the 14th year—the latest date in the inscription. Others,[1] while regarding the entire series as one single document, are of opinion that the actual engraving could not have been done before the 28th regnal year, the year in which Pillar Edict VII was issued. This sort of argument raises three difficulties.

(1) It is difficult to understand why Aśoka, *contrary to his usual practice*, should postpone the actual engraving of this set of edicts till at least 14 years had elapsed after the occurrence of events described by a majority of them.

(2) Granting that the date of the engraving was not earlier than the 28th year, it does not follow that R. E. XIII particularly, records events which took place in that year or a little later. They might have occurred very much later. In short, we are again in a chronological difficulty, and it is impossible to fix a date for the events discussed within a reasonably short period. Again, the sponsors of the above argument have been forced to take up this position because they have taken R.E. II and XIII to refer to the same events, and have hence come to the conclusion that the entire series was engraved at one and the same time, and that not earlier than the 28th regnal year. They found it difficult to explain the dates as given in R.E. III, IV and V. But as I have pointed out, R. E. II is different from R.E. XIII in its content, and, therefore, even assuming that R. E. II was inscribed in the 13th year, we shall not be wrong if we assign a later date to R. E. XIII.

(3) Moreover, their argument rests on the assumption that Pillar Edict VII is a resumé of the acts of Dhamma performed by Aśoka till his 28th year. This assumption, which is that of almost all scholars who have dealt authoritatively with the subject, is, I think, erroneous, and even if not wholly so, it is dangerous to build chronological conclusions on an uncertain piece of evidence.

(a) Rhys David's position is untenable. Unable to account for the stūpas and monasteries and the missions to the Greek countries,

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1 Cf. Bhandarkar's Aśoka, pp. 47 n. 1, 267-8.

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which he regards as "mere royal rhodomontade,"[1] he says that Pillar Edict VII sums up all the *other measures* he had taken for the propagation of the Dhamma.[2] Granting the Ceylonese version of the missions to be correct, is it reasonable to hold that Aśoka himself should omit the foreign missions which he mentions twice in R. E. II and XIII ? Even the Ceylonese mission is left out, which, according to Rhys Davids, is a reality.

(b) V. Smith regards Pillar Edict VII as a resumé of measures taken by Aśoka "within his empire."[3] This interpretation is not warranted by the edict, and is presumably set up to explain the omission of foreign missions. He also contradicts himself when he says that in Section III of his analysis[4] there may be an allusion to the foreign missions. If, again, the edict in question deals with internal measures only, why does it omit altogether the erection of the innumerable stūpas and monasteries which certainly formed an integral part of Aśoka's work in the line ?

(c) Again, Pillar Edict VII need not be regarded as a *summary* of Aśoka's achievements in the propagation of the Dhamma. If a summary was at all in his contemplation, it should have been firstly exhaustive, secondly written towards the close of his reign and not about ten years earlier, thus omitting some of the most important achievements with which he is credited. That it is not exhaustive is clear from the fact that it omits the erection of innumerable stūpas and monasteries which, according to the Ceylon chronicles, were erected soon after his conversion.[5] Hiuen Tsang mentions more than eighty stūpas and monasteries ascribed to Aśoka, without counting the legendary five hundred convents in Kashmir and other large indefinite groups in other countries.[6] If the number of these structures is credible, we cannot by any stretch of imagination confine them to the last ten years of Aśoka. We should, on the contrary, regard the erection of these stūpas and monasteries as covering the

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1 Rhys Davids, Buddhist India (1916), p. 298.

2 Ibid., p. 304. 3 V. A. Smith, Aśoka, p. 212.

4 Ibid., p. 209.

5 Dīp., vi, 99 ; Mahā., v, 79-80 ; also Divyāvadāna (tr. Cowell and Neil!), p. 379. This was also the tradition current in Yuan Chwang's time. Watters, Yuan Chwang, vol. II, pp. 91, 158.

6 V. Smith, Aśoka, p. 109.

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whole reign, and even V. A. Smith believes that the Aśokārāma or Kukkuṭārāma was the first fruits of the emperor's zeal as a convert.[1]

The foregoing considerations tend to show that R. E. XIII need not necessarily belong to the 14th year of Aśoka's reign, nor should it be referred to the last ten years on the basis of a wrong interpretation of Pillar Edict VII. The date of the foreign missions of Aśoka, or properly speaking that of R. E. XIII, is, therefore, to be found out in other ways.

Here we are on uncertain ground, and we are compelled to take some accounts and some arguments on trust. The foreign missions figure prominently in the Aśokan edicts and the monkish chronicles of Ceylon, and however prejudiced we may be regarding the authenticity of the chronicles when they speak of events prior to Aśoka's time, we are perfectly justified in regarding as facts of history the account from the time of Aśoka downwards, rejecting, however, the embellishments tending to make the whole thing unreal. From henceforward we are strengthened in our convictions by the concurrent testimony of the Aśokan monuments and the relic caskets of the Sanchi Topes.[2] In the Ceylon chronicles these missions are associated with the council of Pāṭaliputra where the resolve was made to make Buddhism, purged of its impurities and heresies, a world religion. The accounts of the Buddhist councils have been examined threadbare by orientalists, and whatever doubt there may be regarding the first two councils, there is perfect unanimity regarding the historicity of the Council of Pāṭaliputra. The only systematic account of this Council is given in the southern Buddhist works. The Dīp. (VII, 37, 44) states that the Council took place in 236 A.B.; according to the Mahā. (V, 280) it was held in the 17th year of Aśoka. The date of this Council has long been a subject of controversy. Rhys Davids[3] and Kern[4] take for granted the traditional date (18th year). A more sceptical but, nevertheless, logical attitude is that of V. Smith who says that it rests on tradition only, and took place "at some

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1 Smith's Aśoka; JRAS., 1901, p. 846 apparently on the authority of Hiuen Tsang (Beal, Buddhist Records of the Western World, vol. II, p. 95).

2 Copleston, Buddhism, pp. 179-180.

3 Buddhism, p. 224.

4 Manual of Indian Buddhism, p. 112.

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undetermined date."[1] But in the present case, as we shall see, there is a substratum of truth underlying the Ceylonese account.

Candragupta Maurya came to the throne in 325 B.C.[2] He reigned, according to the unanimous testimony of the Purāṇas and the Ceylonese and Burmese traditions, for 24 years. Bindusāra reigned for 25 years.[3] Therefore the year of Aśok's accession is 276 B.C.[4] Now the set of dates of the Hellenistic kings in R. E. XIII as given by Senart[5] places them all between B.C. 260 and 258.[6] Therefore the date of R. E. XIII, and consequently of the foreign missions of Aśoka, falls between the 16th and the 18th year of his reign. And this is in perfect agreement with the Ceylonese date of the Council of Pāṭaliputra and the conversion of Ceylon by Mahinda.

My chronological argument leaves the pre-sacramental years of Aśoka altogether out of account, as I believe all kinds of testimony run counter to the Ceylonese tradition. In addition to the arguments advanced by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar,[7] it may be remarked that Aśoka, although full of remorse for the Kaliṅga war and solicitous for the preservation of human life, never alludes in any of his edicts to the slaughter of his brothers before he came to the throne. Moreover, there are gross inaccuracies in the southern tradition tending

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1 JRAS., 1901, p. 853.

2 I adhere to the view of Senart (Inscriptions of Piyadasi, Ind. Ant., 1891, pp. 236ff.), Jayaswal (JASB., vol. IX, 1913, pp. 317ff.) and S. Pradhan (Chronology of Ancient India, pp. 238-9), and I shall adduce other arguments in favour of this date in a subsequent paper.

3 I take the unanimous testimony of the Purāṇas, as there is some difference in other accounts. The Dīp. ignores it; in the Mahā. (V. 18) it is 28 years, whereas in the Burmese tradition it is 27 (Bigandet, The Life or Legend of Gautama, vol. II, p. 128).

4 This is also the date arrived at on other grounds by Jayaswal, JASB. (1913), pp. 317 ff.

5 Ind. Ant., 1891, pp. 236 ff.

6 Beloch's dates, as given in 'Griechische Geschichte' and accepted by D. R. Bhandarkar in his Aśoka, p. 48, differ from Senart's mainly on account of Alexander of Corinth superseding Alexander of Epirus; and this identification has been broached apparently to suit a different chronological solution.

7 Aśoka, pp. 9 ff.

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to make the whole story unreal. In the Mahā. the brothers of Aśoka are numbered 90 at one time and 99 at another,[1] and in the Burmese account we find Bindusāra having 101 sons.[2]

JYOTIRMAY SEN

Is Indo-Aryan Invasion a Myth ?

How in the last century, after Sir William Jones had in 1786 declared the common parentage of Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, German & Celtic (to which were added Avestan, Slavonic, Albanian and Armenian by Bopp in 1833-35), theories concerning the origin of the human race in general and the so-called Aryan race in particular grew up like mushrooms in Europe,—all this is recent history and has been lucidly described by Isaac Taylor.[3] Max Müller is very much at fault in this respect, as it is his charming style that is responsible to a large extent for the propagation of the myth about the Indo-Aryan Invasion. His first proposition about racial affinity being a necessary corollary to a linguistic one was adversely criticised by Paul Broca and others followed by Topinard and has been definitely discarded as untenable. It is therefore doubly strange that the 2nd corollary suggesting the Invasion has been tenaciously supported in School Text Books, Govt. Publications and the recent work of such an impartial and sound scholar as Dr. A. B. Keith.[4] But the wonder is that it has been stated in an extreme form by a philologist like Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji.[5]

Quite recently I went through the *magnum opus* of Dr. Chatterji and found that in secs. 23-26 (ODB) he repeats the old assertion. I wrote to him asking, "What are the proofs of an Aryan Invasion?" And to help him in understanding my point I further wrote : "Keith simply notes some points from the Ṛgveda in the JRAS, which prove, if at all, only gradual immigration—but nothing else. [This also will appear to be incorrect]. Then what do you mean by saying that probably land-hunger

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1 Turnour's Intro. to the Mahā., pp. xlvi, xlvii.
2 Bigandet., vol. II, pp. 128.
3 OAS 4 RPV 5 ODB

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made the Aryans invade India? (Secs. 23-26, ODB). It supposes two things: (1) that there was a people of foreign origin called Aryan, and (2) that it invaded India. Now you will admit that for the second point there is no evidence except of course surmise and speculation, which, you will say, follow from the first. But what is the evidence of the first? Ethnological? None. Linguistic? You will say—yes. Sanskrit or Vedic? If the latter, it is a language connected very closely with Avestan, Latin, Greek, etc., all foreign. But does that prove foreign origin? If looked into analytically *the very language proves that the speakers of Vedic were originally non-Aryans*. Otherwise how do you account for the presence of ṭ, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh in the oldest extant record of the Ṛgveda? Would that have been possible if the original speakers of proto-Vedic came to India and composed the Ṛks? Would you expect Indians in England writing Hindi like *ham tumko jāne bolṭā hai* —or, were this the only piece of evidence available of "an Indian Invasion," would you not rather conclude that it is the speech of an Englishman who had learnt Hindi? Can a whole people borrow a foreign sound-system, as the present-day theory seems to suggest that the hordes of foreign Aryans came and settled in India, and after a long time when they had acquired the ṭ, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh sound, began composing the hymns? Then consider the fact that in the Ṛgveda no old home is remembered—their most beloved place (*ambitame nadītame devitame Sarasvati*—Ṛv., II, 41, 16; *devanirmitaṃ deśām* —Manu, 2, 17, 18; Rām., 1, 9, 23—the country established by God) is in India. Have you ever found cultured foreigners forgetting their old homes? The Sumerians remembered theirs,[1] so did the Hebrews,[2] so do the Santals.[3] It is impossible to forget it unless a long period of darkness and relapse to savagery intervenes. Have you ever found cultured foreigners forgetting their old homes and becoming enamoured of their newly made conquest?" I received a reply from which it seems that he has modified his former opinion. For he writes, "A number of tribes of Aryan people came to India—not a whole nation—to swamp the land." But, even as regards this, what evidence is there to support their presence in India? Or, which is the same thing, what is the

1 Ragozin's Chaldea, pp. 185 ff., and their Epic explained by me in JBORS (1920), pp. 225 ff.

2 The Bible, I, chs. 1, 2.

3 Skrefsrud's Grammar of the Santhal Language, Preface.

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evidence that some of the tribes mentioned as Aryans in the Rgveda were foreigners ? The recent discovery of fine cities and advanced civilization—more advanced than can be postulated for the Indo-Iranian-speaking people—at Harappa and Mohen-jo-Daro dating back to 3,000 B.C. has had the further effect of modifying the former theory that the Aryan Invaders met here barbarous or semi-civilized people. Says Dr. Chatterji, "The irruption of Aryan barbarians took place in Western Asia Minor and Northern Mesopotamia some time early in the second millennium B.C., and the civilized Assyrians and Babylonians have left for us the earliest (?) notices of these barbarian hordes, whose only contribution to material culture was that they were the first to tame the horse. Some of these barbarians were already settled in Northern Mesopotamia as early as 1400 B.C. [sic—they are found there earlier still]. In contact with the Assyro-Babylonians they obtained a great many elements of material culture, and then after groups of them were settled in Persia, they pushed into India. Hymn-composing began while the Aryans were in Persia. It is possible that a great many of the hymns were brought to India as ancient heritage and then incorporated in India with later hymns in their collection of the Rgveda and other Vedas.[1] In India they met with *civilized peoples*—Dravidians and Kols—and although their language was adopted by the original people of Northern India, this language was changed a great deal. The Aryans, as always happens in such cases, were practically absorbed in the mass of the people. The cerebrals seem to have developed in India. Large bodies of Dravidians and Kols adopting the language of the few incoming Aryans may have imposed these sounds on it and the true-born Aryans gradually through living in the midst of these Aryanised non-Aryans could not escape the contamination of foreign sounds in their language." This as well as his assertion for an alternative self-evolution of the cerebrals without the influence of the Kols and Dravidians is unscientific and therefore untenable.[2] As regards the forgetting

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1 I thought Hillebrandt's theory was killed and buried long ago by Dr. Keith and others. Vedic Myth., I, 83ff., criticised in Vedic Index, I, 29, 349, 357, 450, 504f., 518f., 521f.; II, 470; Keith, CHI, I, 86f.

2 Caldwell's Comp. Gr. (1913), p. 150; Bühler, On the Origin of the Sanskrit Linguals, Madras Journal of Literature, July, 1864, pp. 116-136; J. Pati, The Law of Loan in Languages, JBORS, (1923) p. 184 and Keith (RPV, p. 9).

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of homes, he misses the point when he says, "The primitive home is forgotten by all primitive peoples, there is nothing strange in it." But were the speakers of proto-Indo-Iranian a primitive people,—a people, who had a clear idea of the moral law that governs the world,—ṛta, who worshipped Asura, Vrithegna, and in whom there were kingly institutions, the four divisions of people, priests, who developed social relations, and could compose hymns in measured metres? So Dr. Chatterji has to say that they *did* remember their old home. What home? "Uttara Kurus beyond the Himalyas". Of the Ṛgveda? "No". But that is the point. The Kurus are not even mentioned by name therein. Some of their prominent people are mentioned only in the later book. To all these the just criticism of Dr. Keith is a sufficient answer: "Reminiscences of an older non-Indian home (Weber, Ind. Studien, i, 161ff., and B. G. Tilak, The Arctic Home of the Vedas) may be safely regarded as purely speculation."[1]

As regards Dr. Chatterji's claim that the Aryans were the first tamers of the horse, the spade of the Indian excavators has given the direct lie to it. As a result of the examination of the finds in the Indus Valley, it has been found, says Sir John Marshall (The Times of India Illustrated Weekly, 22nd Jan., 1928, p. 54), that "among the domesticated animals were.....dog, horse and elephant," and this more than two thousand years before Alexander.

Dr. Keith sums up the two sides of the question thus: "The language of the Veda is essentially akin to Iranian as seen in the Avesta, and more remotely to the other tongues which make up the Indo-European family. From this fact, and from the picture of strife against peoples of dark colour in the Ṛgveda has been deduced the theory that the Vedic Indians formed a body of invading tribes which broke into India from the north-west and carried with them a distinctive culture and religion, which they developed in a special manner under the influence of the new climatic conditions in which they found themselves in Northern India, and of intermixture of blood through marriage with the aboriginal population. Of the latter fact there are probably clear traces already in the language of the Ṛgveda, which contains in the cerebral letters a series in the main unknown to the other cognate languages and most plausibly to be ascribed to the deterioration of sounds in the mouths of generations of mixed

1 RPV, 9, fn. 3.

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blood. (cf. Wackernagel, Altind Gramm., i. Sec. 144 and p. xxii ; Macdonell, Ved. Gramm., p.33. Objections to the view of aboriginal influence are suggested but not proved by Michelson, JAOS, xxxiii., 145-9 ; Cf. Keith, CHI, i, 199 f. ; G. W. Brown, Studies in honour of Bloomfield, pp. 75 ff. ; Peterson, JAOS, xxxii, 414 ff.). Moreover, all analogy is in favour of an early process of admixture. Complete destruction by invaders of pre-existing peoples is a comparatively rare phenomenon and connotes a blood-thirsty spirit among the invaders which is not suggested by anything in the Ṛgveda.

"An alternative hypothesis has, however, been freely urged of late (Srinivas Iyengar, Life in Ancient India, pp. 6 ff. ; G. Slate, The Dravidian Element in Indian Culture, 1923), which would see in the Aryan speech of the Ṛgveda no proof of real invasion of a people, and would therefore refer the religion of the Saṃhitā not to Aryans but to the aborigines, presumably the Dravidians, who are clearly the most important of the early inhabitants of India. With this theory may be connected the view suggested by Hall, that the Sumerians were originally Dravidians who developed their civilization in the valley of the Indus and thence introduced it to the half nomadic Semites, teaching them the art of writing, of town-dwelling, and of building in stone.[1] The Aryans who invaded India were then civilized by the Dravidians, just as, according to the prevailing theory, the Aryans of Greece owed their civilization to the Ægean race. The fatal difficulty", so wrote he before Sept., 1924, "from the point of view of proof prescribed by this theory is that there is not available any evidence by which it can even be made plausible. If the Sumerians were originally Dravidians, and attained a high civilization in the Indus Valley, it is remarkable that no trace of this high civilization is to be found in India, which, as far as we know, first attained the art of writing from Semites not before 800 B.C., and which first commenced building in stone and dwelling in town long after the age of the Ṛgveda. No traces of the stone buildings which presumably the Sumerians erected in the Indus Valley have been discovered, and the Dravidian civilization is first known to us as an historical fact

1 Quite independent of Hall I had arrived at a similar conclusion from a comparative study of Chaldean and Indian traditional History and had almost exactly calculated the time and located the place of that civilization 4 years before the discovery at Mohen-jo-Daro (see JBORS, 1920, pp. 206-8 ; 213 fn. 2 ; 224-225).

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many centuries after the latest date to which the Ṛgveda can be ascribed. The ascription of the civilization of the Ṛgveda to the Dravidians, therefore, remains a mere hypothesis, and one which is difficult to maintain in view of the clear opposition of the white and dark races made in the Ṛgveda, where the white shows, throughout, its contempt for the black. Moreover, there is one very definite piece of evidence which suggests that the invaders were conscious, not merely of racial, but also of religious differences between themselves and the aborigines. In two passages (vii, 21, 5; x, 99, 3) are mentioned Phallus-worshippers and in both cases with abhorrence: it is certain that the Dravidians in historical times were addicted to this form of fetishism, and it is as probable as anything can be that the Phallus-worshippers opposed by the singers were aborigines. But it is of course obvious that, with the admixture of races, which was inevitable, the admixture of religion was certain to follow, and traces of such influence which are scanty in the Ṛgveda can be seen in greater abundance in the later texts.....

"The religion of the Ṛgveda is, therefore, the product of Aryans who must have been affected considerably by the new environments and whose blood must have been becoming more and more intermingled by intermarriage, but it is only proper to recognize that we really do not know, and have no means of ascertaining, how far the people at the period of the Ṛgveda can be styled Aryo-Dravidian, rather Indo-Aryan. For this reason it is hopeless to seek to establish the relative contributions of Aryans and Dravidians to the intellectual product of the Brahmins, for we have insufficient knowledge of what was true Aryan, and we know facts regarding Dravidian thought only long after it had been affected by the Aryan Invasion. Here as often confession of ignorance is preferable to the affectation of knowledge." (RPV, pp. 9-13).

This long quotation was necessary to place the case of the different theories fairly and succinctly. But it will be seen that the real point has not been touched. The question is, if the Invasion really took place, not one of decision as to the respective merits of the claims of the Aryan and the Dravidians to the Indian civilization. Suppose the law were that the cousin would succeed in preference to the illegitimate direct descendants and further suppose that the Persians lay a claim to India or the Punjab on the ground that their forefathers long long ago lived in Airyana Vaejo, say in 1500 B.C. (or 3000 B.C. whichever you please) and a number of them conquered the Punjab, so

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that by right of the peculiar law prevailing among them they are to succeed to their properties in preference to the Punjabis who claim to be their direct descendants but are really born of wedlock with women of another race. The Punjabis in that case may in reply say that the whole evidence of the Persians comes to only these that: (1) the ancestors of Persians and the Punjabis spoke languages and followed religions that were akin to each other but not identical; (2) the language of the Punjabis showed the employment of cerebrals which the Persians did not and perhaps could not pronounce but which were employed by all the other aborigines of India; (3) the earliest document in which is contained any account of the ancestors of the Punjabis is in the language of the Punjabis; (4) there is no reference in it to a foreign home but the Punjab is always counted as such; (5) they mention many strifes with other people living in the Punjab whom they sometimes call black men—a term which they use towards some of themselves, the Kaṇvas (R. Chanda, The Indo-Aryan Races, p. 24; Ṛv, X, 31, 11) and (6) they even perhaps (for it is doubtful)[1] abhorred the Phallic worship of their opponents. Where does Invasion come in? But we forget the evidence of the supporters of the Invasion theory quoted above that the cerebrals are "most plausibly ascribed to the deterioration of sounds in the mouths of generations of mixed blood,"[2] i.e., the Ṛgveda is composed in a language that came into existence long after the alleged Invasion had been followed by peaceful intermarriages with the aboriginal women. Shall we take the interval to be 100 or 150 years? In any case, the subsequent fights and their description in the Ṛgveda cannot be called invasions. Thus the case of the pro-invaders stands dismissed. But the Punjabis have got further evidence to show that it is false.

The first of them (the 7th in the serial order) is the well-known evidence resulting from the spades discovered at Mohen-jo-Daro and Harappa respectively by Messrs. R. D. Banerji, D. R. Sahini carried on till now by Sir John Marshall.[3] This has once for all disposed of the

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1 How fallacious this argument is will appear from the fact that the opposing Tartars of the same race were called the White and the Black mountaineers (Kashgaria by Kuropatkin, p. 102). The akin Germans were called Huns by the Saxons in the last World War.

2 RPV, pp. 9-10 and 12-13.

3 ILN, 20th Sept., 1924 (Sir John Marshall), 27th Sept. 1924 (Prof. A. H. Sayce), ; 4th Dec., 1924 (J. T. Gadd Sidney Smith), TI—Illus-

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objection put forward by Keith quoted above, as to there being no evidence of a pre-Aryan civilization in India. Two facts have been clearly established, viz., that (1) there existed a very high order of civilization in India—when people had developed 'a distinct town organisation consisting of well laid-out streets, household mahalla and city drainage,' and they include 'a large number of fine ornaments, jars, numerous exquisitely painted vases';[1] objects made of 'ivory inlay work, conch-shell ornaments, glass pottery and bangles, neolithic stone implements and axes and netweights, besides some fine shell pottery known as egg-shell pottery,' the most important seals, which have proved their age to be about 2400-3000 B.C.[2] Sir John Marshall thinks 'after five years of experience of work at Mohen-jo-Daro that this particular culture, which has been discovered, at one time prevailed in the whole of Northern India and traces of it might be discovered in the near future in the valley of the Ganges'.[3] The new form of writing which was discovered at Mohen-jo-Daro on seals, metal objects and small pieces of stone was peculiar. This form of picture-writing is 'like the most ancient method of the Island of Creed (Crete ?), and the pictograms used' are 'very much like the pictograms of the Sumerian civilization of the Euphrates Valley, but their sound values were quite different'. 'This pictogram' has 'not been read as yet, (the attempt of Waddell being quite misdirected and unscientific), but it is 'expected that some inscription writing in two languages will shortly be discovered which would enable the scholars immediately to decipher and translate this Indian pictogram.' The second (8th) fact established is that this civilization came to an end at about the beginning of the middle of the 3rd millennium B.C., for no indication of its continuance later is indicated. All the seals contain pictograms comparable to the Sumerian ones of 2400-3000 B.C. (G. J. Gadd and Sidney Smith, ILN, Oct. 4, 1924). Numerous skeletons have been found in the streets of the old city indicating a massacre or a destruction due to some epidemic. But if the earliest date to be assigned to the beginning of the Rgvedic

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trated, 15th Jan., 1928; 22nd Jan., 1928; 29th Jan., 1928 (Marshall); MR, Dec., 1924 (S. K. Chatterji, etc.).

1 R. D. Banerji's lecture as reported in the Searchlight, Patna, March 23, 1928. See TIIW, 15th Jan., 1928 (Marshall).

2 S. K. Chatterji, MR, 1924, p. 672.

3 See TIIW, 29th Jan., 1928, p. 53 (Marshall).

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hymns is not before 1500 B.C.[1] (Keith) or 2000 B.C. (Hopkins), how are we to explain the Pura forts of the non-Aryans referred to in the Ṛgveda ? But supposing there was a gradual spread of the Aryan language into India about 3000 B.C., what would we expect as indirect and circumstantial evidence to support it ? (1) That there should be a border language to separate the Iranian from the Vedic. (2) That there should be some evidence of such a date in the Ṛgveda and the border language. (3) That there should be some sign of continuity with the old civilization. (4) That there should be found some interborrowing in the languages of the older and the Ṛgvedic civilization. All these are found.

Besides the natural connexion between the Avestan and Vedic gods, there are some elements in the Ṛgvedic popular religion which are closer to Sumerian and Babylonian than to Avestan. Some of these are the connexion between Indra and Ea, a world artizan,[2] and Anu 'who appears to have been closely associated with Ea in the earlier Sumerian period' had 'the seven demons, who were his messengers' and who 'recall the stormy Maruts who were followers of Indra,' the fish and flood myth[3] referred to in the Avesta and the Sumerian records as opposed to the snow and frost myth of the Vendidad, the magic rites of the Atharvaveda and the Sumerian tablets, like which nothing is found in the Avesta, the peculiar devil-driving method of the Sumerians and that referred to in the Mbh. as prevailing in Magadha[4]—not to speak of the common measurement of time and space found in later Sanskrit literature and Babylonian records.[5] The late Mr. Tilak pointed out the similarity amounting almost to identity in the conceptions of the world of the Sumerians and the Vedic Ṛṣis, the presence of the name of the Sumerian devil Tiamat in the Atharvaveda and its absence in Avesta. Now this Sumerian civilization was merged in the Babylonian and Assyrian from about 2000 B.C. with the rise of Babylonia under Hammurabi the Great. So though it is possible to suggest that these similarities were due to later connection with

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1 The Indo-Sumerian term to designate that civilization is not appropriate, for the Sumerians who have got records of that period do not speak of India as having been civilised by them, but rather indicate India to be their original home. See DRAI, pp. 224ff.

2 MLB, p. 30.

3 Ibid., p. 34.

4 DRAI, p. 224

5 NLB, p. 310.

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Babylonia and Assyria (vide Dr. Chatterji), the objection to this explanation is that we know nothing of any connection with Babylonia in her developed stage as opposed to a contact with early Sumerian civilization. The Rāśis are not to be met with in the Ṛgveda or the Atharvaveda ; Merodach and other Babylonian gods and devils are not akin to Ṛgvedic gods and devils ; Semitic words have not been as yet traced in the Ṛgveda or the Atharvaveda, nor Sanskrit words (except of course Angarôs and Hindūthā which were probably later intercommunicated through Avestan-speaking people) in Babylonian and Assyrian texts. On the other hand, some words are found to be common to Sumerian and Sanskrit, most of which have been collected by Dr. G. W. Brown, in a paper read at the meeting of the Middle West Branch of AOS in March 1925[1]. I also discover the following :

(1) Guṇa. Macdonell says that the ṇ of Guṇa and Kaṇva is of uncertain derivation and may be of foreign origin.[2] Now this word in the form of Gun is Sumerian, meaning (i) total, collection (Gun-gar), to collect grain ; gūn, gū-un = burden ; gūn-tuk = he who possesses much, honourable. "This word is from an original gun, √gen, be much, abundant." It has a second meaning of (ii) neck, from a gin turn in a circle—gūn-lal, to stretch out the neck, arise ; ariki-da gūn-lal-a, exalted in heaven and earth ; and a third meaning of mighty, great—perhaps from the same root as gun. (i) In Grammar gun is used in Sumerian in the sense of modification of greatness (Langdon, S.G., § 20). Cf. Sk. grammatical term guṇa = increase, and its ordinary meaning good quality. "It is," says Brown, "as if the Sumerian word had been borrowed to express one degree of sound enlargement and translated to express the other (Vṛddhi = increase, fulness)." "Moreover," continues he, 'gunification is also used in Sumerian with a mathematical force. Thus bur-guna means ten buzs or measures of land [Landgon, S. G. 20 (16)].' Similarly "guṇa has a mathematical usage in Sanskrit and the modern vernaculars, dviguṇa meaning twofold or double. This is not the exact force of Sumerian usage, but it is a remarkable coincidence that the same word should be used in the two languages in two widely separated fields—grammar and mathematics—with meanings which are not too widely separated to preclude the idea of borrowing."

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1 JAOS, 45, p. 366,

2 Ency., IAR, Vedic Grammar, pp. 39, 40.

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(2) "Another striking word is the Sanskrit gaṇa, Sumerian gan. This is a Vedic word ; it has no recognized cognate in any other European language. There is no known Sanskrit root from which it may have been derived. From Ṛgvedic times onwards up to the time of the modern vernaculars, its prevailing meaning has been "group, band, herd." The Sumerian homonym and synonym gan = 'totality, much', is connected with gin = go in a circle, which latter again is connected with gīn = to assemble, come together,[1] clearly giving us the original idea of marutagaṇa (Mārutas = collected ; assembled in a circle).

(3) Tilak[2] has already drawn attention to the possible connection between Sumerian abzu and Vedic apsu ; Sumerian ab = ocean,[3] Vedic ao = water.

(4) Ari[4] = foe, is identical in Sumerian and Sanskrit. "Its connection with any Indo-European word is uncertain ; the possible connections are suggested in Greek and Persian" (G. W. B.).

(5) The fifth word not noticed by Brown is Sumerian Ara[4] = to go. Its variant is aria. As a noun it is = route, way, way of living, reputation ; àr-mu = my fame. Cf. vedic ṛ = to go ; Ārya = of noble birth. This word has so many cognates in IE—and so little in Sumerian—that it may be taken as a counter-borrowing.

(6) Another remarkable word not noticed by him is Sumerian Dam[5] = husband, wife. A-dam is a word derived from it = multitude of men or castle with which Semitic Adam may be connected. In Sanskrit Dam-pati = wife and husband ; with which is connected Avestan dmana = house. But in this connection it is to be noted that while Dam is from a clear Sumerian root √gim = beget, the Aryan word is not so strictly derivable from any Aryan root.

(7) Sindhu as a name of cotton cloth was already noted in an old Babylonian list of articles.[6]

(8) Dr. Brown further connects Sumerian Aste = dwelling, abode with the almost homonymous word in Sanskrit Astagiri—the mountain of rest of the sun after he sets in the evening. "The word has another astronomical application being the name of one of the lunar mansions."

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1 LSG, pp. 214, 216. 2 BCV, pp. 29-42.

3 LSG, p. 201.

4 Ibid., p. 203. 5 Ibid., pp. 208, 214, 216.

6 JRAI, p. 228. See History of Indian Shipping, p. 86. But as no date is given, this may be safely excluded.

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(9) "Sumerian has gudu = rump. In Sanskrit we have guda, intestine, anus. The connection of this with any other Indo-European word is doubtful" (G.W.B.).

(10) Sanskrit Pada = "word" (technical term in prosody) or logical term. "It is identical in form and meaning with the Sumerian Pada," so says Dr. Brown. But in Langdon[1] at best Pad = to name, choose, to swear by a name. But there is another Pad = break into bits which may be compared with pada = part of a verse.

(11) Mul = star (Sumerian);[2] cf. Mūla, the principal star in Sanskrit.

(12) Mur = boiled, roasted, treated, by fire. Se-mur, roasted grain. Cf. Hindi Murhi = fried rice ; Murmurānā = to roast a little.

(13) Mol[3] = perish, destroy. Cf. Sanskrit mṛ = to die ; caus. mar = to destroy.

(14) Parallel to the Sumerian ghen, be abundant, we have the Sanskrit ghana, much, dense, etc.

(15) "Sanskrit Nara, Nārāyaṇa, two ancient gods or sages, are usually derived from nara, man. The derivation seems very strange. In Sumerian we have nar, nir, singer, musician, sage[4]. Were one to permit himself to etymologize and combine nara, sage with ad, father, he would have Nārada, father of sages, which would very accurately describe the great Indian sage of that name (? closely connected with the anti-Vedic religion Pāśupata and Pāñcarātra) while the musical connotation would be preserved in the statement that Nārada was the inventor of the Vīṇā, Indians' favourite musical instrument. The element nara is also found in kinnaras, the heavenly musicians, with human bodies and horses' heads. This word has no known cognates, and the only derivation suggested is kiṃ-nara, what sort of man ? but this is most improbable."

(16) "Sumerian has gur,[5] heavy, powerful. Sanskrit has guru, heavy, powerful teacher. The word is usually equated with Gk. Borys, Latin gravis, though the identification is not altogether satisfactory. The meaning teacher, especially, seems a strange one, if Sanskrit alone is considered. Moreover, the word seems to occupy an isolated position in Sanskrit, which is not usually the case with undoubted Indo-European words.

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1 LSG, 232. 2 Ibid., 229. 3 Ibid., p. 227.
4 Ibid., p. 231. 5 Ibid., p. 219.

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(17) "Sumerian also has magh, great, practically identical with the indisputably Indo-European magh (Vedic Maghavan, a title of Indra), Sanskrit maha, having the same meaning." Brown is not inclined to suggest a Sumerian borrowing, but we have evidence of the fact that the Sumerians considered the Indus Valley to be their original home. Langdon[1] does not indicate that it is derived from any Sumerian root or that it has any cognates in that language,—indications of sure borrowing according to Caldwell.[2]

"Some nine (I have added others) have thus been adduced, (most of) which do not seem to be Indo-European in form or in meaning," concludes Dr. Brown, "having more or less exact parallels in Sumerian. Most of these words are words not in the ordinary circle of usage, but are technical terms, religious, philosophical etc. for the most part; they are of the type of words which might be borrowed under the assumption that the early Indian Aryans obtained much of their culture from other races. Such words might easily have been borrowed from early inhabitants of the Indus Valley, who may have used a language akin to classical Sumerian." I agree with him when he says that "Sumerian and Mund may have had organic connection in the remote past" for which he adduces much evidence. He says, "There is little probability of organic connection between Sumerian and Dravidian" and "that there may have been contact enough to evidence certain resemblance is found in Dravidian."

Now it appears to me that the pro-Invaders are not clear in their minds as to what they think the Invasion was like. Was it like the Greek invasion and Mughal conquest, one after another, of the tribes and states that fell in the way with garrisions left behind or was it like the English penetration into the soil, first peaceful, then aggressive.

The first will cause suddenly and swiftly a complete separation from the other Aryan-speaking people, namely the Iranians. We should then expect a language in the buffer-region between the two which has no connection with either the Avestan or the Vedic—lapse of time only resulting in a mongrel of both—like Telugu or Oriya; Santali and Magahi; Santali and Bengali on the boundary.[3] But if the spread of language had been gradual, we should naturally expect a gradation of languages as is observed between Hindi, Avadhi, Magahi and Bengali, viz., Kanauji, Bhojpuri and Chika-chiki. Prof.

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1 LSG, p. 227. 2 LLL, pp. 202 f. 3 LSI

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Sten Konow who was closely associated with Grierson in the preparation and publication of some volumes of the LSI differs from him in his opinion about the Prākṛt Paiśācī of the Grammarians, but is at one with him in his opinion about the modern Piśāca languages ; only he does not accept Dr. Grierson's contention about the existence of a third Aryan language which he names Dardic, Kaffiri and Khowar. (ZDMG, vol. 6, pp. 109, 113 ; vol. 66, p. 78).

There is no doubt that this language was not the result of a fusion of Indian and Iranian languages—which would have given it a mongrel appearance but the result of the growth of the Aryan language among a people who spoke a language of the aborigines of pre-Vedic Delhi, Ambala and Magadh regions, possibly derived from a dialect of the proto-Mon-Khmer family. Says Dr. Grierson (PL, p. 4), "Although these languages show affinities with both Indian and Iranian, they cannot be called mixed forms of speech. The two-fold affinity is part of their essence, and exists alike in phonetic (p. 15), grammar and vocabulary. It is not a mere instance of word-borrowing etc."—(this last an improbable suggestion). Their effects are visible in (possibly) the plural suffix *o* of Paśto but clearly in the past element (waham—I am beating ; ma wahalu—I was beating ; ma wawahalu (reduplication which has disappeared in modern Indian vernaculars)—I beat ; cf. Magahi māralū—beat, māraliai connected perhaps with the element let, led, or lek (A form of the Past of Santali) ; the future element (ba wawaham—I shall beat ; cf. Magahi Mara bau—I shall beat you, connected with perhaps the elements le ba, len ba, an ba—of the preliminary persuasive of Santali) ; the Paśto dative *ta* (savī ta—to a man—not Vedic or Avestan) is comparable to Santali dative *te* (Koṛa te, to the boy) ; the vocatives in *e* (there are some such vocatives in Vedic also), and the identical forms of all nominatives and accusatives (except pronouns in Paśto) in both Paśto and Santali. Syntactical gradations are discernible in the peculiar use of the instrumental for nominative in the Gāthās (not yet uuderstood),[1] the sociative sense (expressing accompaniment of the subject in activity, i.e., when there are two nominatives, the other is a part in the instrumental case) in Vedic ; the instrumental case-ending to the past participle forming the past tenses in the Modern Paiśācī languages (PL, p. 60), the absolute use of instrumental in past tenses

1 MEZ, p. 15, fn. 1.

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in Paśto,[1] and the modified and rationalized instrumental for nominative in Hindi confused in Marathi. We may not be able to explain all this at present, but the gradation is too obvious to be ignored. Thus there are more than one evidence of the frontier languages being of very old growth and not being fusions.

One more fact is to be noted. The Phalgunī year which is the oldest year known to the Indians turned Indo-Aryans, who reformed civilization, consequently began about 3500 B.C. At that time the autumnal equinox occurred in Agrahāyaṇa[2] since it is now counted from Aśvinī. The year that is now found in use among the Paśto-speaking Hindus begins with Magar (from Mārgaśīrṣa), the old name for Agrahāyaṇa, though the names of the seasons have been brought up to date in accordance with the actual state of affairs :

		Hindi
(1)	magar	(aghan)
(2)	po	(pūs)
(3)	mā	(māgh)
(4)	paganṛ	(phagun)
(5)	cetār	(cait)
(6)	wisāk	(baisakh)
(7)	jeṭ	(jeṭh)
(8)	hāḍ	(asāḍh)
(9)	paṣkāl	(sāvan)
(10)	bādro	(bhado)
(11)	asso	(āsin)
(12)	katak	(kātik)

But more important is the ethnological evidence. "In Leucodermic India," says V. Giuffrida-Ruggeri,[3] a great Italian ethnologist, "the anthropological composition is not the same everywhere. The strongest dolichocephalism is found in the true Aryan region, properly called Aryandom (which seems to be the Vedic group : the Punjab, Rajputana and the United Provinces) called also the Midland, as distinguished from the other regions called "Outer Countries". In all the castes of the provinces that now represent the above mentioned Aryandom, and also among the Maithil

1 MSG, § 199 (1)—a similiar use is found in Santali.
2 I A, xxiii, p. 245, Bühler.
3 Anthropology of Asia, p. 43, tr. by Chakladar.

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Brahmans of Bihar, the dolichocephals prevail, there being only 25% of the mesaticephals and 1.5% of the brachycephals among living subjects, which again is reduced to zero in the skeleton." Almost exactly the same condition has been found to prevail in the Indus Valley many centuries before the alleged Invasion and among the undoubted pre-Aryan aboriginals. "Nearly all the skeleton remains," found at Mohen-jo-Daro, "appertain to a dolichocephalic people, who may reasonably be assumed to have belonged to the great long-headed race of southern Asia and Europe to which the name of 'Mediterranian' is commonly applied, but which besides the Mediterranian comprised the pre-Aryan Dravidians of India as well as many other peoples."

"The only skull approximating to a brachycephalic type is from the fractional burial described above, and this appears to exhibit the same social characteristics as the marble and alabaster statues from Mohen-jo-Daro, which are pronounced brachycephalic."[1] The data are scanty no doubt, but when these correspond exactly to conditions found now after more than forty-five hundred years, we cannot believe in any appreciable disturbance in the composition of the population of the Punjab by a gratuitously supposed Invasion about 700 to 1200 years after the date of the old skeletons.

The circumstances are not only such as not to warrant any inference of an Aryan Invasion into India but rather stand against any such inference.

The Key to authorities quoted

AV The Atharvaveda
BCV Bhandarkar's Commemoration Volume
CHI Cambridge History of India
DRAI The Different Royal Genealogies of Ancient India by J. Pati in JBORS (1920), pp. 205ff.
IA The Indian Antiquary
ILN The Illustrated London News
JAOS Journal of the American Oriental Society
JBORS Journal of the Behar and Orissa Research Society
LLL The Land of Loan in Languages by J. Pati in JBORS (1923), pp. 179ff.

1 TIIW, Jan. 29, 1928, p. 53.

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LSG	Langdon's Sumerian Grammar (1911)
LSI	Linguistic Survey of India
MEZ	Moulton's Early Zoroastrianism
MLB	Myths of Babylonia by Donald, A. Mackenzie
MR	Modern Review
MSG	Macdonell's Vedic Grammar for Students
OAS	Origin of the Aryans
ODB	Origin and Development of the Bengali Language
PG	Pushtu Grammar by L. Vaughan (1901)
PL	The Piśāca Languages of North-Western India by Dr. Grierson (1906)
RPV	The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda by Dr. Keith
RV	The Ṛgveda
TI	The Times of India
TIIW	The Times of India Illustrated Weekly
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft

JAINATH PATI

Ravaṇa's Laṅka located in Central India

The earliest known history of the Indian people in an epic form is what is contained in the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmiki. The language and metre of the work, which are nearer to the Vedic language than anything to be found in classical Sanskrit, point out the work to have been written in very ancient times. Indeed the writer claims it to be a contemporary work, and if the interpolations made in it, which are many and intermixed throughout the book, are deleted, what remains appears to be an authentic narrative, although subject to exaggeration here and there on account of its very nature as epic poetry. To the same reason is due the fact that it contains many riddles. Many of them have been successfully solved by that distinguished scholar Mr. C. V. Vaidya, M.A., LL. B., in his book entitled the "Riddles of the Rāmāyaṇa." But he too has failed to solve the toughest riddle in it, namely, the identity of Laṅkā, the capital of Rāvaṇa, with any site in modern countries. There was a time when it came to be believed that like Dvārakā of a later epoch it disappeared in the sea.

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But the question is so important that on its right solution depends the authenticity of the greater part of the history embodied in the epic.

The story of Rāma and Sītā is well-known. After Rāma had attained the age of maturity and was about to be installed as the heir-apparent, he was asked to go and live in the forest for 12 years. His younger brother Lakṣmaṇa and wife Sītā accompanied him. His adventures in the forests form the central theme of the epic. As commonly found in such narratives, it is full of adventures, into which the lapse of time has introduced elements of absurdity and exaggeration. They have so obscured history that doubts have been thrown on its authenticity, and some have gone so far as to assert that it is a myth of Nature.[1] Prof. Jacobi in his monumental work on the Rāmāyaṇa takes the hero to Assam, which he calls Rākṣasa-sthāna (the abode of demons). The Indian astronomer Bhāskara (14th century) locates Rāvaṇa's Laṅkā, the destination of Rāma, on the equator in the ocean. Some identify it with an island near Sumatra, or Java. A few would locate it in the Arabian Sea on the west coast. Recently, however, some people have begun to place it in the Chhattisgarh District of the Central Provinces. But the most popular theory current in India for the last two thousand years is that Laṅkā is none other than Ceylon. The believers in this theory differ as to the route by which Rāma went to that island, one holding that he went through the middle of the Peninsula, and another asserting that he followed the East Coast.

It is not an uncommon phenomenon that when emigrants leaving their mother country go on founding colonies one after another, they carry with them to their new homes the names of places for which they have some attachment. From the places, which, as described in the preceding paragraph, claim the honour of being associated with Rāma's principal exploit, the theory set forth here receives confirmation.

There is, however, ample material in the earliest narrative of it, which, with the corroboration now made available by research, points to a place far nearer the country of Rāma's birth than the wild stories which later became current. Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa or the history of the exile of Rāma contains a plain narrative of facts, which has been laid under contribution for the writing of this paper.

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1 Imp. Gaz., vol. I, p. 419.

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From it, it is claimed that the site of Rāvaṇa's Laṇkā must be found in the Amarakaṇṭaka Mountains at the source of the Narmadā on the frontier between the Chhattisgarh Division of the Central Provinces and the Rewa State of the Central India Agency.

The Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki is not only the first and earliest history of the great hero, Rāma, but from the view-point of language and metre it is nearer to the Vedic Sūktas than anything found in the later Sanskrit literature. The story became so popular that not only the Mahābhārata but almost all the 18 principal Purāṇas and later works in modern Indian languages, among which Paumacariyam (published and edited by Prof. Jacobi),Tulasīdāsa's Rāmāyaṇa in Hindi, Kṛttivāsa's Rāmāyaṇa in Bengali, Moropant's 108 Rāmāyaṇas in Marathi and Pambam Rāmāyaṇa in Tamil are the most famous, have delighted to describe the beautiful and almost divine story, not to speak of several inferior versions of same in Sanskrit, and other works. Not only has not Vālmiki's work escaped interpolations to suit the later editions of the story, but they have been rendered by additions and exaggerations beyond recognition. Not only does the description in the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa connected with Rāma's journey in forest and subsequently to Laṅkā preclude the possibility of its being so far away, as is indicated by the different places which claim the honour of being referred to in the history of the exploit, but, the other countries also which are described in it and which are equally wrongly identified with countries bearing the old names in modern times stand in the same position. As an example the identification of Videha, the kingdom of Janaka, the father of Sītā, with modern Bihar, can be cited. According to the Rāmāyaṇa (1, 69, 8) it was at a distance of four days' journey from Ayodhyā. This cannot justify the identification of Videha with modern Bihar. From Oudh it cannot but be at a greater distance than what is indicated by the above mentioned fact. No such army as is described in the Rāmāyaṇa, not even a chariot drawn by horses, could traverse the distance from Ayodya (Oudh) to Videha (Behar) in such a short time as is distinctly mentioned.

The data in the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa are sufficient to identify Ayodhyā, from where Rāma started on his journey, and Citrakūṭa, where he was met by his brother Bharata, who came to him with the tidings of the death of their father Daśaratha, with the places bearing these names. The difficulty of identification commences with the further progress in the journey.

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On leaving the last named place Rāma entered the Daṇḍaka forest. There he came across a colony of Ṛṣis which was situated in an inaccesible place (3, 1, 1). Then he entered the forest and met with an adventure (3, 2). Here he saw a hermitage (3, 5, 4). He requested its owner to show him a suitable place for settling (3, 5, 33).

The Ṛṣi was about to die and so he directed Rāma to go to another Ṛṣi by name Sutīkṣṇa, in the neighbourhood (3, 5, 35). He desired him to follow the course of the Mandākinī which having its rise in the Citrakūṭa mountain joins the Jumna. Here there was a number of colonists who complained to Rāma of the harassment to which they were subjected by the fierce Rākṣasas (3, 6, 5). They described to him the extent to which their colonies, which were subjected to the harassment, had spread (3, 6, 17).

They were established on the area between the Pampā and the Mandākinī, and the Citrakūṭa mountain.

Being accompanied by the members of the colony, he went to the hermitage of Sutīkṣṇa after crossing the river (Mandākinī) (3, 7, 1). He stayed here for one night (3, 8, 1).

He then wandered over different places in the forest and returned to the same place after ten years (3, 11, 27). Here he was requested by the Ṛṣis to protect them from Rākṣasas which Rāma promised to do (3, 1, 34).

Here on enquiry Rāma heard that Agastya lived in the same forest (3, 11, 30 et seq.).

He is told that the hermitage of Agastya's brother was 32 miles to the south from there and Agastya's hermitage eight miles further to the south. He is advised that he should halt at the former place for the night and then proceed to the other place which was at the back (or end) of the part of the forest the next morning (3,11,37-42).

He goes to Agastya and asks him to show him a good place to live in (3, 13, 11).

He is pointed out a place 16 miles away near the Godāvarī, a place which was said to be not far away (3, 13, 18-21).

It was so near in the same Madhuka forest that he was told that he should go by the way on the north of the banyan tree and, getting on a hillock close by, see the Pañcavaṭī (3, 13, 25); Janasthāna was another name for it (9, 5, 69). It was Rāvaṇa's out-post (3, 21, 20). So Rāma settled there in order to keep his promise to the Ṛṣis (3, 10).

At Pañcavaṭī Rāma lived for nearly two years and from here Sītā was taken away by Rāvaṇa.

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The above narrative makes it clear that Sutīkṣṇa's hermitage was not far away from Citrakūṭa, and from the former place Pañcavaṭī was only 48 miles.

Rāma had gone a-hunting at the time of Sītā's abduction and Jaṭāyu tried to protect Sītā from the hands of Rāvaṇa. He was found to have been almost killed by Rāvaṇa, when Rāma returned. From the former he learnt the name of the abductor of his wife and the direction in which he had gone (3, 68, 9, 10, and 16). While going on to Pañcavaṭī, Rāma had seen a big bird perched on the banyan tree (3, 14, 1). This was Jaṭāyu, probably an aborigine.

Rāma went along that direction towards the south-west in search of his wife (3, 1 and 2).

Having gone six miles from Janasthāna (or Pañcavaṭī) he entered a forest by name Krauñca (3, 69, 5), and on going six miles eastwards he entered a valley (3, 69, 8-10), which was between the forest named Krauñca and the hermitage of Mātaṅga, who, before dying, told him to go to Sugrīva, who lived on a hillock on the banks of a reservoir named Pampā in the forest known after Mātaṅga. Sugrīva was the head of a tribe known as Vānaras, who being antagonistic to Rākṣasas was expected to help Rāma (3, 72).

Having stopped for one day on the way shown by Kabandha to the east of the hill (mentioned by him), he reached the western banks of Pampā (3, 74, 1, 3 and 4). Here was living a female hermit named Śabarī (3, 74, 4).

Then he saw Sugrīva, who was near the Ṛṣyamūka mount (4, 1, 130).

Rāma made friends with Sugrīva, who gave him tidings of his wife, who had been carried away by Rāvaṇa by that way (4, 6, 9).

Sugrīva had been driven away from home by his elder brother, Bālin (4, 6, 9 and 10), who lived at Kiṣkindhā, which was not at a great distance from the place (4, 12, 13 and 14). It was in a valley (4, 33, 1). From there he went to Pampā, near which was the mount Ṛṣyamūka (3, 75, 7).

It has been seen that Pañcavaṭī was only 48 miles from Sutīkṣṇa's hermitage, which itself was not at a great distance from Citrakūṭa. From Pañcavaṭī or Janasthāna he goes into the Krauñca forest at a distance of six miles in the south-west. Going on further six miles, he entered the valley in which he killed Kabandha. He told Rāma to go to Sugrīva who, it appears from the minute description given by Kabandha such as the road leading by a banyan tree and

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thence to the hillock from which Pampā and Ṛṣyamūka which enclosed Kiṣkindhā and where Sugrīva lived could be seen, did not live far away, say another six miles. Therefore Kiṣkindhā was more than eighteen miles from Janasthāna or about 66 miles from Sutīkṣṇa's hermitage, or 96 miles, as will be shown later, from Citrakūṭa.

To the immediate south of Kiṣkindhā were the Vindhyas (4, 46, 17).

Sugrīva sent a batch of Vānaras under the leadership of Hanumat to the south (4, 47, 14). It began to search the deep valley of the Vindhyas (4, 48, 2).[1]

They lost their way. They were taken out of it by a nun who was living in it and who brought them on to the shores of the sea which was washing the base of the Vindhyas (4, 53, 3-5).

Here, when they were sitting ready to die, not knowing what to do, came to them the brother of Jaṭāyu, by name Sampāti (4, 56, 1-2). He told them that he had been living on the mountain Vindhya for a very long time (4, 58, 7).

He gives tidings of Rāvaṇa and Sītā, who, he says, are at a certain distance on the south banks of an island in the sea, on the shores of which they were sitting (4, 58, 20).

We find an indication of distance in the fact that he could see them, or rather the place where they lived, from the spot on which they were (4, 58, 29). It is emphasised in the same stanza that he could see what he was describing.

It was on this information that Hanumat, the leader of the party, made up his mind to leap or swim the distance. Hanumat swam this distance, through the air, after halting in the way.

It is then quite clear that Kiṣkindhā was on the northern slope of the Vindhyas which was at a distance of about 96 miles from Citrakūṭa, and Laṅkā to the south of the mountain in the sea. From the fact that Śabarī, who lived on the banks of the Pampā near

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1 On the the word Vindhya Govindarāja's commentary observes:

Vindhyapādapa ityanena Kiṣkindhāyā dakṣiṇato 'pi Vindhya-parvataśeṣo 'stīti gamyeta.

Here the party entered a valley which was full of trees and through which water was running and which was full of light (4, 15, and 20, 50).

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Kiṣkindhā (3, 74, 4), can, as will be shown later, be said to have lived at a place within six miles of Amarakaṇṭaka, which is identified with Laṅkā in this paper, it was about 103 miles from Citrakūṭa.

Here the toughest problem arises. Mr. C. V. Vaidya, the learned author of the "Riddles of the "Rāmāyaṇa" and "Mahābhārata : a criticism," shows that even the Mahābhārata, which is next in authority to Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa, corroborates that Kiṣkindhā was to the north of the Vindhya mountain. Now the difficulty about there being no sea to the south of the Vindhyas can only be got over by agreeing to the view that what is described as sea here was only an expanse of water.

Assuming this theory for the sake of argument, luckily, there is actually such a place as indicated by the Rāmāyaṇa (vide Pioneer, July 27, 1908). There is a mystery hanging about it. At a distance of some 10 miles from the Pendra Road Station of the Bilaspur-Katni Branch of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway, there is a hill-top on which there is said to be a fort, which is called after Rāṇī Bakavali, a fabulous queen. It is visible from the spot known as Bhṛgu-Āśram about 2 miles distant from the source of the Narmadā. It is said that in the sixties of the last century Sir Richard Temple, then the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces, had attempted to reach it by crossing over the marsh, with which it is surrounded, by riding over an elephant, but as the animal got stuck up in the mud the attempt had to be abandoned. From this side of the marsh the fort looks as if submerged in a mist, which makes it appear to be at a greater distance than it really is. It is in fact a peak, just as Laṅkā is in the Rāmāyaṇa. The land which is marshy at present may have had water over it once. Local tradition says that there is treasure inside the fort. It may be the Laṅkā of Rāvaṇa.

Sutīkṣṇa's Āśrama, which Rāma was the first to visit after leaving Citrakūṭa, is identified with modern Sutna, which is a station on the E. I. Railway, the present head-quarters of the Political Agent in Bhagelkhand and about 30 miles from Citrakūṭa as the crow flies. It is situated on a stream which has, even now, beautiful trees on its banks. Here Rāma lived for the ten years of his exile.

Rai Bahadur Hiralal, a distinguished archæologist, is responsible for the statement that Goda, which is the name given to the river at Pañcavaṭī, where Rāma lived for nearly two years and from where Sītā was abducted, is a common name for rivers in that part of the

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country. So it does not necessarily mean that Janasthāna should be located on the well-known river bearing that name, which has its source in the western Ghāṭs and falls into the Bay of Bengal.

From Janasthāna Rāma went to the Krauñca forest. Hereabout is Kenjuva, an offshoot of the Vindhyas. It may be identified with Krauñca.

In Śabarī dialect (Aboriginal Names in the Rāmāyaṇa by G. Ramdas Iyar, B.A., Journal of the Behar and Orissa Research Society, March, 1925) Jaitan means a place below the mountains just as Laṅkā means the high mountain. It is not difficult to hold that Janasthāna, which was in a forest, was with no habitation, as otherwise its meaning might imply the Sanskrit form of Jaitan. It was the advanced post of Rāvaṇa's army (3, 20, 22). Mr. Ramdas maintains that in Śabarī language Daṇḍaka means a place full of water.

Laṅkā itself was on the top of a peak known as Trikūṭa (5, 1, 2). In this paper it is proposed to identify it with a peak on the Amarakaṇṭaka mountain. According to Rai Bahadur Hiralal there is a peak called Āmrakūṭa (a place with mango trees) on the Amarakaṇṭaka mountain. It would not be difficult to identify the other two peaks as Śālakūṭa (Sal trees) and Madhūkūṭa (Mahua trees). Within seven miles of Amarakaṇṭaka there is a place called Śabarī Nārāyaṇa, after the hermit of that name mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa (3, 4, 75). He met Rāma when he was on his way to and near Pampā or Kiṣkindhā (ibid.).

There also appears to be a striking phonetic similarity between the names Sālakaṭaṅkaṭa, the family name of Rāvaṇa and Amarakaṇṭaka. The inhabitants of these parts call themselves Rāvaṇa-vaṃśīs[1] and a song on Hanumat's exploits is sung with great zest by them. In that part of the Vindhya range in which is situated the Amarakaṇṭaka, and which is called the Kaimur range, there are traces of old habitations of men. In its caves are drawings of great antiquity.[2] This region, therefore, seems to have been connected with aborigines, and the tradition of Laṅkā may be traced to them.

There now remains the difficulty about Sāgara or the sea. In Sanskrit, according to Mr. Nundolal Dey, the word Sāgara includes a lake, a sea or an ocean. In these parts there are many lakes which are called Sāgaras. Rai Bahadur Hiralal asserts that in some of these lakes pearls are found (Journal of Hindi Sammelan, vol. 14, 5).

1 Imperial Gazetteer, vol. XII, p. 323. 2 Ibid., vol. XVI, p. 275.

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Now the question remains as regards the tribes of Vānaras, monkeys, which inhabited the land between Janasthāna and Laṅkā, and the Rākṣasas who lived beyond. That these two tribes had brotherly relations may be gathered from the mention in the Rāmāyaṇa that Hanumat, the companion of Sugrīva, introduced his name to Rāvaṇa, as that of a brother (5, 2, 51). It is said that Vānaras had a tail. Apart from the fact that in medical works evidence is available of men having tail, Mr. T. C. Hadson, in his "Naga Tribes of Manipur" describes a costume in which such a tail is added. The Rākṣasas too had different sorts of costumes (e.g., the ten heads of Rāvaṇa). But it is not the object of this paper to enter into that discussion. I have avoided any reference to the last canto of the Rāmāyaṇa as it is held to be an interpolation. Nor has any reference been made to the date of the Rāmāyaṇic events, which preceded the Mahābhārata War by about a thousand years.

The object of this paper has been to prove that the place-names in the Rāmāyaṇa are not fictitious and even today they can be identified with sites in existence. If, as is claimed in this paper, the hypothesis that the Laṅkā of Rāvaṇa was located on the now inaccessible peak of Amarakaṇṭaka, stands the test of criticism, it may lead some adventurous and enterprising person to survey it from the air.

M. V. KIBE

Religion and Philosophy in Kerala

I propose to describe here some of the aspects of the Hindu religion as current amongst us and then to briefly dwell upon the three premier philosophical systems of Mīmāṃsā, Advaita and Dvaita which had their origin in Kerala. I may add at the very outset that it is not intended here to go into details on these subjects. What I here intend to dwell upon is to point out some interesting religious rites and practices which appear peculiar to us and to sum up some of the Malayali traditions regarding the founders of the three systems of theistic philosophy which form, as it were, the stable foundations of the wonderful superstructure of what is briefly summed

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up in the phrase, the Hindu Religion. And this, I believe, will not be without its value, because Prabhākara, Śaṅkara, Madhva, these three revered seers are all Malayalis. It is also proposed to speak a few words in this connection to set forth how these three popular schools of philosophy affected our religious ideas and conceptions and our attitude in matters religious. Before, however, I proceed with this subject, I may be permitted to briefly touch upon the importance of Kerala for the student of religion.

Kerala may fitly be called the land of religions and philosophies. It was the meeting place of all Indian religions and faiths and creeds, and all of the most important world religions. Here found a congenial soil not only the orthodox Hinduism, and the various schools of theistic philosophy, Mīmāṃsā, Advaita, Viśiṣṭādvaita and Dvaita, but also the other Indian religions, Jainism and Buddhism. Besides these Indian religions, here came and flourished the alien religions of Judaism, Christianity and Muhammadanism. And our conceptions of religion and philosophy must have been greatly influenced not only by these various and varied religions, orthodox and heterodox, native and foreign, but also by the Grecian, the Roman and the Chinese schools of philosophy, for these foreign nations also had their thriving colonies at Cranganore, the great emporium of trade in Ancient India. It deserves to be pointed out that the Vedic religion was brought and super-imposed over a Dravidian religion which had its own gods and rites and ceremonies. It is also worth while to emphasise here that the introduction in Kerala of a new religion, or a new creed, or a new faith, or a new philosophy, did not mean the suppression of the old. The old and the new existed side by side: sometimes they were amalgamated, sometimes assimilated; but no instance has yet been recorded of the one suppressing or persecuting the other. Mutual toleration and mutual accommodation have come to be practised amongst us in their widest and fullest measure. There is a sufficiency of records and traditions to show that the followers of one religion mutually co-operated with those of the other.

When it is pointed out that *Ayyappan* and *Bāvar*, the one a Hindu god and the other a Muhammadan saint, are chums with many an adventure to their credit, that Christian Churches are founded by Hindu local chieftains, for instance, the churches at Koraṭṭi and Chenganśśeri, that the Christian marriage is characterised by the tying of *Tāli* and the presentation of cloth, which are characteristic features of the local Hindu marriage, that the local Muhammadans

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are following the Marumakkattāyam law of inheritance, that Hindus vie with Christians and Muhammadans in making offerings to the sacred shrines of the latter, that the local Hindus have no water-tight compartments among themselves of Śaivites and Vaiṣṇavites, Bhāṭṭites and Prabhākarites, Advaitists and Dvaitists and that the local chieftains of ancient families do keep up even to-day some of the ancient Hindu customs and manners,—when all these are remembered, one is naturally tempted to wonder at, and admire, the rare power of accommodation that has actually been practised in our land from times immemorial. From these and other similar clues, as for instance, the observation of impurity due to death by families following different religions, one is inclined to think that religion and philosophy were purely personal affairs and did not at all affect social life, so much so that members of the same family might have belonged to different religions and yet not only kept up cordial social relations, but also enjoyed the same social rights and privileges. These clearly suggest mutual influencing ; only it is a subject that has not yet been taken up for systematic study. It will thus be seen that Kerala is a rich and virgin field which invites the students of comparative religion and philosophy for study.

I shall not digress further on this topic, but this, I believe, will suffice to show that the enquiry that we are going to make is by no means insignificant. I must, therefore, tell you at the very beginning, that I do not expect to be able on this occasion to do adequate justice to the subject. My aim at present is only to explain to you that it is a field of enquiry that necessitates the labour of all those who are interested in religion and philosophy. This digression, short though it be, will also make it clear that the three systems of philosophy that originated in our land did not spring out of barren fields, but from a soil that was already soaked with varied religions and faiths, an aspect that must be borne in mind throughout the whole course of our present study.

It has already been said that the Hindu religion and culture were introduced into the land long before the dawn of Christianity. Quite in keeping with this long history, there are found preserved amongst us more survivals of Vedic religions than anywhere else. These survivals are manifest in the daily practice of the various purificatory and propitiatory rites and rituals, as observed by the high class Brahmins who are locally known as Nampūtiris. To mention a couple of instances: the Nampūtiris perform their *Sandhyā Vandana*

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without any reference to the popular, i.e., the Paurāṇic, Hindu religion, and consequently the various *Namaskāras* to the gods of this pantheon, which do find a place in this rite as observed by Paradeśis are conspicuous by their absence in the practice of the Nampūtiris. Similarly, the purificatory and the propitiatory rites as practised here are characterised by no admixture of Paurāṇic influence: the Nampūtiris ollow the Vedic Code, pure and simple. This Vedic survival is found in a more perceptible degree in their *Vivāha* ceremony. It is in the first place a post-puberty one, and as is natural with it, it is *Eka-vivāha*. There is no ceremonial Code obtaining amongst them for a second *Vivāha*, the *Ādhāna* taking place on the fourth day of the marriage. It is significant to point out that the widow never shaves her braid of hair nor otherwise disfigures herself. Pre-puberty marriages are as a rule condemned. If one considers the preponderance of *Vaidika-Pūjā* in the individual's daily practice of religion and the sort of stigma that attaches itself to those conducting *Śālagrāma Pūjā* and *Pūjā* in temples, one inclines to think that we have more of Vedic religion preserved amongst us than amongst our Hindu brethren elsewhere. This is further elucidated by the fact that more *Yajñas* are performed in Kerala than in the whole of the rest of India put together. And as a matter of fact there are amongst us a number of families who can claim even to-day an unbroken continuity of the performance of *Agnihotra* and *Vaiśvadeva* practices which can be traced to the very beginnings of the families. As in these, so in the field of Vedic *Uccāraṇa* and exegesis, the Malayali Brahmins do show some specific divergences, and in the light of survivals here referred to, these divergences are not to be explained as entirely independent and sporadic. Here in our differences may also be found a particular Vedic tradition handed down in unbroken continuity.

The greater personal predilection shown towards the Vedic rituals and practices would suggest that the Vedic religion was the earliest form of Hindu religion current amongst the Malayalis, and this our traditions also support. This was later on modified by, or, became assimilated to, the Śaivite cult. Thus modified or assimilated, it continued to exist side by side with the two other popular Indian religions, Jainism and Buddhism. Still later, when these two heterodox religions were suppressed, say by about the beginning of the 7th century A.C., the Hindu religion received its last tributary in the introduction of the Vaiṣṇavite cult. Corresponding to this development

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of religions, the rituals also appear to have undergone changes, and consequently, the old simple Vedic rites yielded place to the more elaborate Tāntric rites, while the degenerate Māntric rites of the aboriginies became purified and elevated and were treated on a footing of equality with the Tāntric. The changes which religion and ritual underwent affected in no small measure the nature of temples which reveal a process of cult stratification. These we shall now proceed to briefly notice.

The intensive cultivation of the Vedas amongst the Malayali Brahmins consists in the taking of very elaborate steps in the matter of ensuring correctness and thoroughness of Vedic recitals. The Nampūtiris take to the study of the Vedas after their *Upanayana* is over. After studying, i.e., learning by rote the particular Veda to which by the very nature of his initiation ceremony he belongs, he proceeds to learning by heart the other Vedas. The study of these other Vedas is locally known as Mutalora: at present Mutalora consists in the mere hearing of the other Vedas, but it appears that in olden days the other Vedas also must have been studied as intensively as one's own Veda. I may as well point out one fact which differentiates the followers of the Atharvaveda from those of the others. The *Upanayana* ceremony entitling one to the study of the Atharvaveda entitles him to that of the other three Vedas also. But the *Upanayana* ceremony prescribed for the followers of the other three Vedas does not entitle their followers to the study of the Atharvaveda. If a follower of the Ṛgveda wants to study the Atharvaveda, he must once more initiate himself according to the Atharvan rites. These are, indeed, very significant things and have their own elucidatory value. These clearly show that, at least as our ancients had, the followers of the various Vedas never confined themselves to exclusive comparatments: on the other hand, they did mutually co-operate as they do even to-day in all kinds of Vedic exegesis.

The more important of the peculiarly Malayali institutions intended to further the Vedic studies are: Ottūṭu, Trisandhā and Pañcasandhā, and among tests of Vedic proficiency reference may be made to Randāṃ Vāramirikkal, Numbilirikkal and Kaṭannirikkal. Of these the first three are Vedic recitals and are always accompanied by grand feastings, while the last three are public proficiency tests. Ottūṭu is an annual function of the Yajurvedic Brahmin where the three limbs of the Vedas, Śiśu Saṃhitā, Śiśu Pāda

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and Koṭṭu, are recited three times each by all those who are competent and qualified to take part in it, and this serves as a seasonal revision of the Vedas and an annual test of Vedic proficiency on the part of Vedic scholars. Grāmam after Grāmam takes up this sort of Vedic recital year after year, this being as much an imperative duty of theirs as the maintenance of the Grāmam temple, if there be one. Trisandhā is a similar institution conducted on a grander scale by the Ṛgvedic Brahmin, but on account of the heavy expense and the number of day's sittings involved in conducting it, it is found celebrated not so commonly as Ottūṭu ; and during this the Ṛgveda is recited under the three Sandhis, namely Saṃhitā, Pāda and Krama. Still more elaborate is Pañcasandhā in which the Vedas are recited in their five-fold aspects of Śiśu Saṃhitā, Bṛhat Saṃhitā, Śiśu Pāda, Bṛhat Pāda and Koṭṭu. Naturally this is conducted periodically once in twelve years. These institutions definitely helped in a pronounced measure to ensure the purity and the permanency of the Vedic recitals, and every Grāmam temple has some funds set apart for the conduct of these religious festivities.

The three proficiency tests in public are conducted for the Ṛgveda and are conducted in the Kaṭavallur temple. Of these the first and the most important is the Kaṭannirikkal, Valiyathu (big), and Ceriyathu (small), lit., cross and sit, and these are considered the final tests of proficiency in the Vedic recital and constitute the highest honour, the most coveted distinction that the Vedic students ever aspire to get. The Vedic preceptors with their batch of students from various parts come to this temple, and the students are subjected to a severe and merciless test of memory, skill and quickness. Only the most successful is allowed, then, to cross and sit in the place of honour. It is not, however, all who can get this honour, but only a very selected few. The clever Vedic student is content with Numbilirikkal which is second only to 'crossing and sitting'. Those who have obtained this honour are treated as the very respectable of Vedic scholars. Still one step below is 'Randām Vāramirikkal'. The average students are content with this honour, while the rest are content with mere Vāramirikkal, i.e., associating themselves with Vedic recitals. To associate themselves at least once with the Vedic recital in the Kaṭavallur temple is treated as a seal of scholarship, and such are generally accorded respect and consideration in Vedic conclaves elsewhere.

These Vedic recitals and the proficiency tests have helped in no

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small measure to maintain unimpaired the orthodox Vedic studies in the land. It is not exactly known when these celebrations are organised, but popular tradition makes it out that these are coeval with the revival of Hinduism under Prabhākara. And throughout the whole course of its existence here for a period of nearly a thousand and five hundred years, these have acted as the most orthodox and popular agencies for the up-keep of Vedic studies in the land which consisted, as I have said before, in taking elaborate steps to ensure permanently the most absolute and scrupulous correctness of the Vedic text and its accented recital.

All the religious and socio-religious rites and rituals and practices can be brought under one or other of the following major categories: (1) The Śrauta and Śrauta-smārta rites which deal with the performance of the Vedic ceremony: (2) the Smārta rites, including within it also types of domestic ceremonies, such as Ṣoḍaśakriyās; (3) the Tāntric rites which deal with Sapta-mūrti-pūjā, i.e., the Pūja of Śiva, Viṣṇu, Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa, Gaṇapati, Śāstā, Subrahmaṇya, and which comprise within them all the rituals performed in temple, and (4) the Māntric rites comprising the Ṣaṭkarmas, as Stambhana, Māraṇa, Uccāṭana, Vaśīkaraṇa, etc. intended to attain material greatness. In this respect, i.e., in the aim of the rite, the fourth variety considerably differs from the other three types of rites, as they do also in their elaboration, because those three have for their object the denizens of a higher place and aim at obtaining spiritual greatness. All these types of practical rituals have been prevalent in our land from even ancient times and, as is the case with the secular and practical Śāstras, the practice of these is found associated with certain specific families. These have thus a long and continued tradition in the field of a particular exegetical practice. This continuity of practice has enabled them to contribute a definite quota in the matters of the elaboration and development of rituals and, what is more important, to maintain them unimpaired in their orthodox purity.

The families connected with the Śrauta rites are six in number, and they are:—(1) Cerumukku, (2) Tekkaṭu, (3) Perumpaṭappu, (4) Kaplingāṭu, (5) Kaimukku, and (6) Pantalu. These are the famous Vaidikas of Kerala and the members of these families do cherish even now with honour and pride their high traditions and constitute themselves the highest authorities in the field of Vaidika Karma. Of these the first two are the Vaidikas of the Covvannūr Grāmam, the

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next two of the Perumanam Grāmam, and the last of the Irinjālakūṭa Grāmam. Again the first two are Ṛgvedics, while the rest are Yajurvedics. The absence of the Vedics for the Sāmaveda does not mean that there are no Sāmavedins in the land; it only means that the priesthood is not confined to particular families. It may be pointed out here that the first in each pair claims superiority over the second. Thus Cerumukku, Perumpaṭappu and Kaimuku claim to be a step higher than the other three. And the reason assigned for this is that the first triad are Vidhāyakas and concern themselves mainly with the Śrauta portion, while the second triad are the Anuṣṭhāpakas and concern themselves with the Smārta portion in the practical exegesis which include both. In the conduct of a Yajña, all the Vaidikas are present and mutually co-operate, the principal place being assigned to the Vaidikas of that Grāmam which conducts the Yajña. In addition to these prominent Vaidikas, there are two families which are both Vaidikas and Smārtas—I mean the families of Vellekkat and Potoru and these administer the spiritual functions of the Talipparamba Grāmam. In the field of Smārta rituals the more famous of the traditional families, coming down from ancient times, are besides the Vaidika Smārtas, the Mūttamana and the Paṭṭacomātiri, and the presence of the Vaidika Smārtas clearly suggests that the constitution of Vaidikas and Smārtas was originally based on merely practical convenience and not on any other essential difference between the families in their social or religious status, though this difference has now come to exist. The traditional Tāntric families of Kerala are those of Nakarṇi, Aṇimangalam and Taraṇanellur, the last probably the most important, and the Tāntrikas in all the important temples in our land belong to one or other of these families. Two are the original Māntrika families and they are the Cennos Mana and the Kallur Mana, the former having Vettekaran and the latter Bhagavatī, as their family patrons. It is possible that these Tāntric and Māntric families might originally have been Atharva Vedins. These are the original Tāntrikas and Māntrikas amongst the Malayalis. This number has subsequently increased, the more prominent ones being Puliyanurs in the field of Tāntric, and Kāṭṭumāṭas in that of Māntric rites. These are the guardians of the Tāntric and Māntric rites as elaborated in Kerala, and the assignment of a particular work to a particular family enabled the various families to attain almost perfection in the practice of particular rituals.

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Amongst original writers in these various fields I shall here content myself with referring to two authors who are even to-day accredited authorities in their respective spheres. The earlier of these is a Nampūtiri Brahmin, belonging to Mahiṣamaṅgala Mana, popularly called Maḷamaṅgalam, near Perumanam, the very well-known and popular author of the Mahiṣamaṅgala Bhāṇam and Koṭiviraham. He is a prolific writer in this field and has produced a number of works dealing with the Śrauta and Smārta rituals. The most popular of his works are (1) the Smārta Prāyaścittam named Vimarṣiṇī and (2) Āśauca Prāyaścittam ; they being the highest authorities in their respective fields. These works have also found very capable commentators in two scholarly Princes belonging to the gifted royal family of Cranganore. The Āśauca Prāyaścittam has a commentary named Candrikā, written by Vidvān Elaya Thampuran who passed away in the fifties of the last century, while the Smārta Prāyaścittam has been commented upon by the present Vidvān Elaya Thampuran of Cranganore, Mahāmahopādhyāya Goda Varma Bhaṭṭan Thampuran, the premier Kerala Sanskrit scholar of the day. The author of the orignal, the Mahiṣamaṅgala Nampūtiri, may be assigned to the close of the 12th century, if my interpretation of a phrase as *Kalivacaka* is correct. The phrase, I have in mind, is Āyugānta Samayam, occurring in the last verse of his Bhāṇa and this when worked out will give about 1215 A.C. From his own statement, recorded in this work, he is known as a contemporary of Rāja Rāja, king of Cochin, who is said to belong to the Māṭattil Tāvaḷi. This, I may note, is a valuable piece of information, because in the first place it gives rise to some new considerations regarding the original collateral families of the Cochin Royal family, and secondly it adds to the chronological list of the Cochin kings, a chronology which is blank for the pre-Portuguese period except for the name of a couple of kings who are assigned to various periods according as it suits the convenience or the theory of the writers.

The other author is Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita, a scion of the eminent Māntric family of Cennos Mana. His work is the famous Tantra Samuccaya, an elaborate treatise which deals with the Tāntric rituals now obtaining in our temples, as also with the temple architecture and the construction of images. This is the most authoritative text-book for the local Tāntrikas. The author was one of the shining gems of the brilliant court of Vikrama of Calicut who flourished during the early decades of the 15th century, and who is

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rightly praised as the Bhoja of Kerala. This work has an able commentator in the author's son and disciple, Śaṅkara. Śeṣasamuccaya is another work in the same field, which is but a supplement to Tantrasamuccaya. Besides this, there are also a number of minor works, called, Anuṣṭhāna Granthas, which deal with the rituals of a particular ceremony in great detail as elaborated by a particular specialist. Thus, for instance, Taraṇanellur Pacca in the field of Tāntric rites and Cerumuk Pacca in the field of Śrauta rites: the former is current amongst the Tāntrikas of Irinjalakuda Grāmam and the latter amongst the Vaidikas of Covvannur. In these and other similar works, which are evidently manuals for the priests, there is noticeable an admixture of Malayalam in the later day works while the ancient ones are in pure Sanskrit. As Anuṣṭhāna treatises in Sanskrit, mention may be made of Karattapāra and Toḷuvannur in the field of Tāntrikism, and Tekattu Pacca in the field of Smārta rites. We have not yet come across any standard work in the field of Māntric rites, except Prapañcasāra, by Śaṅkarācārya, though many Anuṣṭhāna Granthas of the type already mentioned are available, as for instance, the practical manuals of Kallur Nampūtiripad.

The next subject which I wish to touch upon is the stratification of cults and rituals. Every prominent temple in the land yields to the searching eye clues which reveal a gradual process of cult stratification, the original Dravidian being first modified by the Vedic and then submerged in the latter Buddhistic or Jainistic and this latter again in the still later Śaivite and Vaiṣṇavite cults. To mention a couple of instances: the temple at Tṛpūnittura, a premier Vaiṣṇavite temple dedicated to Śrī Kṛṣṇa, has, connected with it, the Dravidian Masūri Devatā, and the Hindu Śaivite cult. With the temple at Tiruvilvāmala, a modern Vaiṣṇavite seat, is connected the Dravidian saint Āmalaka, the Aryan saint Paraśurāma, god Śiva and his offspring Gaṇapati and the Vaiṣṇavite gods, the revered Kṣatriya brothers, Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa. The temple at Irinjalakuda believed to have been an original Jaina stronghold, was at one time the seat of Kṛṣṇa and is now popularly connected with Bharata, practising penance at Nandigrāma, while there are also connected with it a number of Śaivite practices. Tṛcur, one of the most important Śaivite centres, as its name Tṛśśivapuram indicates, appears to have originally been a Buddhistic stronghold, and later the meeting-place of all Hindu creeds. The more important Hindu temples now dedicated to consorts of Śiva or Viṣṇu are, at least some of them are, the seats of Dravidian sylvan goddesses with their

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numerous cruel superstitious rites and festivals, and the lower forms of Māntrika worship. This is enough to show that our famous centres of religion and worship were also not exempt from changes of cult, sometimes leading to suppression, sometimes to amalgamation and not rarely to change of status. In other words, cult-stratification appears to be a feature intimately connected with all our important temples. Corresponding to this cult-stratification we also meet with ritual stratification, the simple Vedic Pujā yielding place to, and sometimes existing side by side with, the elaborate Tāntric rites, and the original Dravidian rites, first changed into Māntric rites now existing collaterally with Tāntric rites. This stratification of cults and rituals is an interesting and important feature connected with such of our prominent temples as can claim any sort of antiquity and this feature has to be explained only on the basis of the concurrent existence of the numerous creeds and faiths. This is again a subject yet to be investigated, and throws open an untrodden field for the research student.

It has been already said that during the early centuries of the Christian era Buddhism and Jainism were flourishing religions in the land existing side by side with the once popular Hindu religion. The leaders of the latter were trying their level best to recover the ground lost to Hinduism, especially because Buddhism had begun to decline elsewhere in India, while it was flourishing here, thanks to the lavish patronage extended to it by the imperial Sovereigns, the Perumals. The local efforts were, however, doomed to disappointment, the more so because just at the critical moment when Buddhism was shaking, there arrived on the scene, according to our tradition, three Buddhistic philosphers from China who were more than a match for the Hindu leaders. Convinced that they themselves could not meet the Buddhists in argument and that, if they allowed themselves to be defeated, they would be endangering the religion of their fathers, they resorted to the best next thing, namely, to invite into the fair bosom of Kerala some eminent scholars from elsewhere, who could successfully maintain their hoary religion and philosophy against the Buddhistic and other heterodox antagonists. The distinguished scholars who were thus brought down were six in number and they were, according to tradition, Bhaṭṭācārya, Bhaṭṭabāna, Bhaṭṭavijaya, Bhaṭṭamayūkha, Bhaṭṭagopāla and Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa, who, if their names be of any indication, may be said to belong to the Kaumārila school. They came, met the Buddhists in argument

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and completely defeated them. This led to the re-establishment of Hinduism as the national and state religion of the Malayalis.

Naturally the Hindu religious leaders were immensely gratified. So they requested these eminent Śāstric scholars to settle down in the country, at least till they would be able to create a band of Śāstric students in the land, to check, if necessary, the onslaught of the Buddhists. For, the defeat of the Buddhistic scholars and the re-establishment of the Hindu religion did not necessarily mean that all the Buddhists were reconverted. On the other hand, they continued to exist side by side. There was also another reason no less powerful than the presence of the Buddhists, namely, the presence of other alien religions and the free and liberal sense of toleration and mutual accommodation that has more or less been the innate characteristic of the Malayali. This innate attitude of ours as regards religious matters made it abundantly necessary to devise measures to permanently safeguard the interests of the Hindu religion. Hence it was a wise request that they made and the first two of the scholars, mentioned above, namely Bhaṭṭācārya and Bhaṭṭabāna acceded to this request and became temporary residents of Kerala. During the period that they were here, they took a number of disciples, of whom the most brilliant was Prabhākara. Another equally wise thing that the Hindu religious leaders did was to organise a semi-religious spectacular entertainment which is called by various names, Svasti-Kaḷi, Śāstra-Kaḷi and Saṃgha-Kaḷi. It is called Svasti-Kaḷi, because the celebration of this is supposed to bring about Svasti for the performer ; the second name is given to it, because it is a performance which is associated with Śāstras and the beginning of Śāstric studies in the land; the last, however, is the popular name as the actors who take part in it belong to the different Kerala Saṅghas which are eighteen in number. This sort of entertainment was organised on the advice of Jaṅgama Maharṣi and it consisted of four sections, (1) Nālupadam Vakkal, (2) Pāna, (3) Āngyangal, and (4) Hāsyangal. The first of these is the most important item, and the purely religious aspect of the ceremony lies in the performance of this, which consists in the recitation with accents of a particular stanza by four Brahmins walking round a lighted lamp. This is supposed to be a very auspicious ceremony and it is now found celebrated as a complement to social or religious festivities in the houses of the rich.

The founding of a school for the perpetuation of Śāstric studies in the land and the organisation of a type of spectacular

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entertainment to popularise the traditional religion and get the support of the masses, these are the steps which the Hindu leaders then took to retrieve the ground lost to Hinduism and to permanently safeguard its interests. And nobly have they served their purpose, for since that time no amount of alien faiths and creeds and philosophies was ever able to shake the religion of old. Thus Buddhism, Śāstras and Vedic studies came to be permanently cultivated here, a feature which is true even to-day.

When Bhaṭṭacārya and Bhaṭṭabāna found that their Śiṣyas had completed their studies they asked permission to leave for their native land. They told the leaders that the school of disciples founded by them consisted of excellent scholars and that they were more than a match for any scholar, the foremost amongst them being the brilliant Prabhākara, the founder of Gurumata. The required permission was granted and they were sent back with all the honours that could be heaped upon them. On their leaving, Prabhākara, the greatest of the disciples, was made the head of the school founded by the Bhāṭṭas. His brilliant scholarship soon became recognised. He became the recipient of all the rights and privileges and honours first conferred upon his Gurus. He was given free quarters and, for the maintenance of himself and his pupils was assigned lands big enough to take as much as 12,000 paras of seeds by the imperial suzerain of all Kerala. This lavish gift of the sovereign was soon followed by another equally generous gift by Kulōttunga Cetty, the premier merchant of the empire. This was the first Malayali school of philosophy founded and Prabhākara became the first Guru in the land. This is probably the reason why he has come to be called the Guru, and his system of philosophy Gurumata.

I may probably be expected to speak a word as to who is earlier, Kumārila or Prabhākara, especially because I have assumed here that the former is earlier. This, I know, is not the accepted opinion; but our tradition makes it that the six Bhāṭṭas invited to Kerala were the disciples of Kumārila and their disciple was Prabhākara. This necessarily raises an incongruous position; Prabhākara is later than Kumārila, and yet is called the Prācina School. The traditional explanation given for incongruity points to the necessity for adapting his school to local needs, both religious and secular. While Kumārila was faced with the necessity for a general onslaught against Buddhism, Prabhākara was called upon to boldly face a particular school of Buddhistic philosophy. This, it is said, is the

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main cause of the difference in their respective views. Then, again, there is the natural tendency on the part of the Malayalis to favour always the orthodox and the old, and this will go a long way to explain the Prācīnatva ascribed to Prabhākara. And lastly, the sense of mutual accommodotion and toleration which is so characteristic of the Malayali in all religious matters may also account for this divergence. This is, however, a subject that I must perforce leave here to be worked out in greater detail on another occasion.

Advaita, or the monistic school of philosophy, owes its origin and systematic elaboration to the revered Śaṅkarācārya. The place he occupies in the field of Hindu religion, philosophy and literature, and the contribution he has made to these fields, are subjects too well-known, and have been discussed and treated in detail by scholars here and elsewhere, and a vast mass of literature has grown up on the subject. I do not wish to add to it, especially because I am not technically competent to deal with the subject, as I am not a student of philosophy. What I propose to do here is only to touch upon certain other aspects, chiefly the place of this school amongst us.

When Śaṅkara elaborated the system of philosophy and expounded it, he met with the greatest opposition from his own countrymen, who, with their innate sense of respect for the old and traditional lore, found in the new philosopher a confirmed revolutionary. Naturally there was a great wave of opposition against him, his own family people being the greatest opponents. They with their insistence on the due performance of all Śrauta and Smārta rites were unwilling to listen to Śaṅkara's view which declared Jñāna as the sole means of salvation. Naturally, therefore, Śaṅkara had to beat a retreat in his own land, and his opponents treated him as a social outcaste for all his views. It was this that led to his going out of Kerala and to his successive billiant intellectual victories in other lands. He had opponents, but everywhere he scored victory and got a number of disciples ; and before long he was acclaimed a divine seer by the whole intellectual world of India. It was with this victory, with the whole intellectual strength of India behind him, that he came back to his native land. His victories, however, had preceded him and no wonder when the Jagat Guru came, he was everywhere greeted with honour and acclamation. Many distinguished Malayalis eagerly became his disciples, of whom the only one we now know is Śaktibhadra the author of Cūḍāmaṇi, who was originally a follower of the Kaumārila

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school. Śaṅkara appears to have made a Digvijaya in Kerala visiting every important temple in the land.

To maintain his school of philosophy in the land of his birth, he founded a number of Maṭhas and installed in each, one or other of his disciples as president, for the practice and propagation of Advaitism. Of these the most important are the four Mutts at Tṛcur, Vaṭakkemaṭham, Naṭuvil Maṭham, Eṭayil Maṭham and Tekke Maṭham, and the first presidents of these were his four principal disciples, Toṭaka, Sureśvara, Hastāmalaka and Padmapāda respectively. Generations of these disciples Śiṣya-pāramparya began to preside over these Mutts for a long time. At the present time, however, only two Mutts subserve the original functions, namely the Tekke Maṭham and the Naṭuvil Maṭham. The Eṭayil Maṭham became absorbed in the southern Maṭham and the Vaṭakke Maṭham became set apart for the furtherance of Vedic studies, when at one time the president Sanyāsins of these passed away without being able to nominate a successor. From the time of Śaṅkara till to-day, for a period of over one thousand and one hundred years, these Mutts which are richly endowed have been actively functioning in furthering Vedic and Vedāntic studies. Regarding their original works in the field, there is none yet available. Three out of the four disciples above-mentioned are, according to our tradition, Malayalis and their works are the only original contributions on the subject.

Śaṅkara's personality, and his intellectual eminence, the grandeur of the system of philosophy elaborated by him, and its acceptance by the intellectual elite of India, the founding of the Mutts here and there to maintain his philosophy and the vast ardent following created for it,—these naturally disarmed the opposition at the hands of even the staunchest adherents of the Kaumārila and the Prabhākara systems. But thanks to the innate sense of mutual accommodation in religious matters that is our national characteristic, the new faith did not lead to the suppression of the old school. Both the new and the old thrive side by side, the one practically helping the other, and both together helping the stabilisation of the religion of old and the popularisation of the language in which that religion and philosophy have found expression.

The third school of theistic philosophy that has originated in Kerala is the Dvaita or the dualistic school founded by Madhvācārya Pūrṇaprajña, indeed a significant title. This school of philosophy with its specific code of conduct for the daily life of its followers and

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with its elaboration of a code of Tāntric rituals soon became very popular, because it made a better appeal to the average intellect. It has silently spread throughout the whole of Kerala, so much so that the followers of this school can now be met with almost everywhere. They have established their own Mutts, of which the most important is the one at Udippi. The popularity of this school could easily be measured, when it is remembered that the Embrantiris, as the followers of this school are called, are the Devalokas in many of the Malayali temples. Towards the beginning of the 19th century the leaders of this school converted the reigning sovereign of the Cochin Royal family, and for a long time afterwards Cochin, especially Tṛipuṇittura, was the chief centre of Dvaita philosophy in the middle Kerala. A number of works has been produced in elaboration of the philosophy of this school and these are mainly the works of Malayalis—the most popular and important of these being the works of Kāvu Bhaṭṭatiri, a Nampūtiri Brahmin.

Before I proceed to trace the influence of these various schools of philosophy on the religious life of the Malayalis, I must make a passing reference to the popularity of the school of Viśiṣṭādvaita in our land. Over a dozen temples, very sacred to the followers of Rāmānujācārya, are found located in Kerala, the most important being those at Tṛkkākkara and at Mūḷikuḷam. The followers of this school visit these temples as a religious duty. The earliest visit recorded is that of Vedānta Deśikacārin, who has written a commentary on Kāvyaprakāśa known as Ravivarma-yaśobhūṣaṇa, at the command on King Ravi Varmā of Cochin who passed away in 1603 A.C. This shows that the Viśiṣṭādvaita school of philosophy must have been popular in the land from the time of its inception.

From what has been said it will be clear that all the theistic systems of philosophy have been very popular in our land. The various Hindu cults on Bhagavatī, Śiva and Viṣṇu have also been current here side by side with the Dravidian cults which have survived in an Aryanised form in the tree worship, serpent worship, ancestor worship and the worship of sylvan gods, the most famous of which is Vettekkaran. With these various cults and schools of philosophy, there have been existing the alien religions of Judaism, Christianity and Muhammadanism. In what follows we shall confine our attention to the place of Mīmāṃsā, Advaita and Dvaita in the average life of the Malayali, and the specific results which their presence in the land has produced.

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Both the schools of Mīmāṃsā philosophy of Kumārila and Prabhākara have not only made a deep and permanent impression but have continued to exist side by side. These have coloured to a very great extent not only the daily life of the orthodox Nampūtiri Brahmins but also the religious ideas and conceptions and the general outlook on religious matters of the average Malayali. It is more on account of these than anything else that Kerala has come to be called the Karmabhūmi, the land where Karma is given the greatest prominence. The presence of these two schools of philosophy has further given a permanent impetus to the intensive cultivation of Vedic studies, to the development of a Tāntric code and to the imposition of a Tāntric mode of worship in temples having originally a Vedic form of worship, and in both these the Malayalis do show some specific divergences as compared with the same prevailing amongst their Hindu brethren elsewhere.

The elaboration and popular acceptance of Advaitism and the establishment of a number of Mutts led to the intensive cultivation of the Vedāntic studies and the survival of the Vaidika form of worship obtaining, while the presence of Viśiṣṭādvaita and the popular appeal which Dvaita made contributed in no small measure to the founding of more temples and the grand elaboration of the original simple rites of the Tāntrikas and the Māntrikas. The presence of all these theistic systems of philosophy made the intensive cultivation of Śāstric studies a desirable necessity in the land. Thus it will be seen that the simultaneous existence of these greatly helped to preserve and maintain the Hindu religion, the Hindu philosophy and the Hindu culture embodied in the Hindu arts and sciences. This has also contributed in a definite measure to create a peculiar religious outlook in the Malayalis, which may well be seen in the honours conferred upon the leaders of the various schools of Hindu philosophy and even upon the leaders of alien religions still surviving in the land. Every religion in the land and every school of philosophy received equal consideration both from the Princes and the people of Kerala. Naturally therefore it has become a matter of great difficulty to estimate the nature of the influences exerted by each school and religion on the religious life of the mass of the people. This is, as I said before, a very interesting subject which has yet to be investigated and which lies open to the students of religion and philosophy.

Before I conclude, I must dwell for a moment on one aspect in our religious attitude, the most fundamental one, I mean, the utter absence

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of all kinds of clanish sectarianism. Sectarian prejudices are absolutely unknown amongst us. Irrespective of the nature of our personal family deities, all the gods of Hindu pantheon, both Śaivaite and Vaiṣṇavite, are accorded the same amount of respect and admiration by all Malayalis. The Śaivite Malayali is as loud in his praises of Viṣṇu as the Vaiṣṇavite is of Śiva, and the followers of both vie with each other in their praises of Bhagavatī. As a matter of fact, it could be known only with great difficulty as to what exactly a Malayali Hindu is, a Vaiṣṇavite or a Śaivite or a Śākta: it is even doubtful if any of us cherish such a clanish distinction. To the Malayali all gods and goddesses are equally great, equally to be respected. To him the highest and most supreme deity is the one whom he is worshipping at the moment, an outlook that may be characterised as Kathenotheistic and is the necessary result of life amidst such diverse forms of religions and philosophies and forms the fundamental basis for the practice of the widest and broadest spirit of religious toleration existing in our land from time immemorial.

We have now traversed the whole field of spiritual Śāstras and practices. I do realise that the information recorded here on this branch of Hindu literature is very meagre; but I believe I have made it sufficiently clear that this is a field of enquiry that is practically untrodden so far as Kerala is concerned, and that our land presents an exceedingly interesting field for research for the student of comparative religion and philosophy. Much again has to be, and can be, learnt from our land which may better elucidate many of the aspects of Hindu religion and the various schools of Hindu philosophy. The keys to open the wonderful treasure house of antiquities are in the hands of the Sanskritists, and I conclude this discourse[1] with an appeal to the research students among the Sanskritists to go and explore that little corner of India, which in every aspect is as much different from the rest of India, as India herself is from the rest of Asia, and make their own contribution for the further elucidation of what is briefly summed up in the expression, the Hindu spiritual culture.

K. R. PISHAROTI

1 Delivered at the University of Madras.

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Social and Economic Condition of the People under the Bahmani Sultanate

The sources of our information for the Muhammadan period of the Indian history are mainly Histories written by the Muhammadan historians who were either contemporaneous with the events they dealt with or who came later but derived their materials from the writings of the contemporary historians. Both of these classes of historians generally give us a very vivid and detailed account of the kings and their courts, and shower eulogies after eulogies upon them, but about the common people, that is, the rank and file of the population, they are mostly silent. Of course, it is true that there were exceptions, and historians like Abul Fazl, Albadaoni and Muhammad Kasim Ferishta broke away from the stereotyped mode of writing and made attempts at throwing light on the social and economic conditions of the country in those days, but such historians were greatly productions of a somewhat later age, the Mughal period and were extremely rare in the period, of which we are speaking.

The main source of our information on the subject is the account given by the foreign travellers who occasionally visited India and left valuable informations which would otherwise have remained totally unknown to us. The neighbouring Kingdom of Vijayanagar owes much of its valuable account on the subject to this source, but, unfortunately, the Bahmani Kingdom is very poor in this respect, and the only traveller who throws some light on the topic is Athanasius Nikitin.

Though his account about the Bahmani Kingdom is very meagre, yet whatever he says about it is of great value, for he wrote everything from his own personal experience without any prospect of reward or gain from the then Bahmani sovereign, Muhammad Shah III.

The Muhammadan histories which are of great importance to us are Tarikh-i-Ferishta and Burhan-i-Maasir. Tazkiratul-Mulk is of little help and Tabakati Akbari of Nizam-ud-din Ahmad, Muntakhabut-Tawarikh of Albadaoni and Muntakhabul-Lubab of Khafi Khan may be utilised to some extent.

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The population of the Bahmani Kingdom consisted of the Turks, Persians, Abyssinians and the Hindus (including Rajputs) of different races and castes. Among the Muhammadan population both the Shia and the Sunni sects were very powerful; each of them had a distinct party of its own and neither was on friendly terms with the other. Their animosity which is otherwise known as the struggle between the Deccanies and the foreigners deprived the Bahmani Kingdom of that peace and tranquillity which are so essential for the stability and good government of a kingdom.

The condition of the Hindus was similar to that in other Muhammadan states of those days in India. It was an age of intolerance, image-breaking and religious persecution and the atmosphere in which the princes were born and reared did not afford them an opportunity of bearing and practising that religious toleration which may be seen in a cultured mind of the 20th century. It was very difficult, nay almost impossible, for a man of the 14th or 15th century to cut off the narrow shackles of the society and rise above the precepts of the age. It seems that the Brahmins were at first given high positions in the state and were much respected and honoured by the Bahmani Sultans, but this was as a result of Ala-ud-din Hassan's gratitude for the Brahmin master, the Gangu Pandit. But we find that this policy was afterwards reversed by his successors (as is seen from the writings of Ferishta), and Ala-ud-din Shah II did not even hold conversation with the Brahmins, not to speak of permitting them to hold civil offices under his government (Briggs' Ferishta, vol. II, p. 436).

Now the question is—how far the Bahmani sovereigns were successful in establishing peace, tranquillity and happiness in the society? The first two Bahmani sovereigns, Ala-ud-din Hassan Bahmani and his son Muhammad Shah Bahmani were, no doubt, very strong and powerful sovereigns and through their utmost care and close vigilance the people enjoyed peace, prosperity and happiness. The life of Ala-ud-din Hassan was too stormy. He could not devote much time to the civil administration of the Kingdom, but still in the midst of storms and bustles he steered his course through, and even when he was in his death-bed he did not neglect to administer justice to the people as is evident from the following remarks: "The king continued six months in a declining state of health, in spite of which, he gave public audience twice a day, transacting business and administering justice to the poor and friendless. He issued orders to release all prisoners throughout his dominions

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except those accused of capital offence" (Briggs' Ferishta, vol. II, p. 296). This last sentence throws a good deal of light on the kind and humane disposition of the sovereign.

Muhammad Shah I devoted much of his time in "promoting the happiness of his subjects" and "executing plans of public utility." "During his reign," says Ferishta, "all ranks of people reposed in security and peace."

"Muhammad Shah II was of a very generous, affable and sympathetic disposition, established orphan schools in many places with ample foundations for their support" and "observed that kings were only trustees of the state." He also "gave monthly charity to the blind throughout his dominions." In short, during his reign, the people enjoyed uninterrupted peace and tranquillity.

During the ministry of Gawan also (except during the reign of Humayun) the country enjoyed peace and happiness, which is unanimously recorded by Athanasius Nikitin, Ferishta and Burhan-i-Maasir. Athanasius's remark that "the country was populous, the lands well-cultivated" and "the roads safe from robbers" reveals the true picture of the Bahmani Kingdom in those days.

But during the greater part of the existence of the Bahmani Sultanate peace and happiness of the Kingdom were disturbed due to the following causes:

First, the absence of the law of primogeniture, a defect which was inherent in all the Muhammadan states. The dethronement of four kings, Mujahid Shah, Daud Shah, Ghiyass-ud-din Shah and Shamsuddin Shah, in quick succession within a period of 19 or 20 years not only disturbed the peace of the country, causing unnecessary bloodshed and confusion in the Kingdom but also weakened the power and prestige of the crown. In the absence of the law of primogeniture every son of the preceding sovereign or his nearest relatives considered himself as the lawful heir, and did not surrender his rights without a trial of strength which meant confusion and disturbance in the Kingdom.

Second, the succession of several boy-kings to the Bahmani throne, which loosened the hold of the Government over the people and often gave rise to unnecessary commotion.

Third, the internecine struggle between the two factions, the Deccanies and the Abyssinians on the one hand and the foreigners on the other, which not only made life and property insecure but

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also deprived the Bahmani Kingdom of the services of distinguished noblemen like Khulf Hassan and Mahmud Gawan.

Fourth, the frequent warfare with the neighbouring Hindu Kingdom of Vijayanagar which diverted the attention of the sovereigns more to the military organization and aggrandisement than to the civil administration, with the result that the people were greatly deprived of the blessings of peace and security.

Now let us turn to the economic condition of the people during the rule of the Bahmani sovereigns. India is mainly an agricultural country and its people generally depends everywhere upon the products of the soil. From the accounts of Athanasius Nikitin it seems that the majority of the population were very miserable while the nobles and courtiers were extremely rich. He says, "the land is overstocked with people; but those in the country are very miserable, whilst the nobles are extremely opulent and delight in luxury. They are wont to be carried on their silver beds, preceded by some 20 chargers caparisoned in gold, and followed by 300 men on horseback and 500 on foot, and by horn-men, ten torch-bearers and ten musicians" (India in the 15th Century, Hackluyt Society's publication).

In those days as at present the Deccan was an important centre of commerce and ships plied upon her coasts from central Asia and other places. People came from different parts of Asia for carrying on commerce with this country, and instances were not rare in which they also ultimately settled there, sometimes forming an independent party of their own. It was in this way that a distinct political party known as the foreign party came into existence: the two most important personages of the Bahmani Kingdom—Khulf Hassan of Bussora and Mahmud Gawan of Geelan came into India for commercial purposes but ultimately settled there. These instances go to prove that the country was certainly an alluring commercial centre to attract so many distinguished men from such distant countries. It is also a curious fact that those who attained high distinction in the state by their meritorious services received the title of "Mullik-ut-Tujar" (Lord of the Merchants). The most important sea-ports within its jurisdiction were Goa, Chaul and Dabul which were known as famous centres of trade even from the Hindu times. It is said by Ferishta that "Feroz Shah, even every year, despatched vessels from the ports of Goa and Chaul to procure the manufacture and curious productions of all quarters of the world" (Briggs' Ferishta, vol. II, p. 368).

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During the whole period of the Bahmani Sultanate only three or four famines occurred in the Deccan, but in all these cases the sovereigns extended their sympathy and kindness for the suffering humanity by importing grains from other places or by opening the public graneries. Generally, the lands were "well-cultivated" and the product of the soil was sufficient to meet the demands of the people.

Now, if it is admitted that the country was a famous centre of trade and the lands well-cultivated and there were very few years of scarcity, the condition of the people could not be very miserable. As this country generally depends on the produce of the soil, the people are generally well off when the crops produced can meet the demands of the people. It is of course readily admitted that the people of the great towns and sea-ports were better off than those of the villages. But if we leave aside our comparison and consider independently the condition of the people of the villages we must also admit that they were generally self-sufficient. Athanasius Nikitin was dazzled by the pomp and grandeur of the rich and the wealthy, so his remark that the people of the villages were very miserable was in comparison with the rich and the opulent. He is justified in his observations when these two grades of people become the subject-matter of comparison but when considered separately we find that the rich, no doubt, overflowed in wealth, but the common people also had sufficient to eat and live upon.

JOGINDRA NATH CHOWDHURY

The Development of Buddhist Art in South India

Amarāvatī Stūpa

Amarāvatī is picturesquely situated on the south bank of the Kṛṣṇā River close by the modern town of Dharanikota, ancient Dhanyakaṭaka, the capital of Mahā-Andhra, about eighteen miles west of Bezwada. The earliest stūpa was raised under the patronage of the Andhras about 200 B. C., of which a few archaic sculptures have survived, but most of the exquisite marbles which survive to-day belong to a subsequent restoration about four centuries later. The great Buddhist stūpa of Amarāvatī which was once unrivalled by any other Indian structure of its class in form, dimension and decorative grandeur

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shared no better fate than the rest of the ancient monuments. "When Huen-tsang visited the place in the year 639 A.D. it had already been deserted for a century, but he speaks of its magnificence and the beauty of its site in more glowing terms than he applies to almost any other monument in India."[1] . From this time onward the monument gradually began to decay and fall into ruins. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, the famous mound, the upper part of which rose in a turreted shape encased with bricks to the height of 20 ft. with a diameter of about 90 ft. at the top, was locally known as Dipaldinne or "Hill of Lights". Colonel Mackenzie who went to the site in 1797 found to his great chagrin that just a year before, the local Raja Venkatadri Naidu had discovered and disemboweled the mound in a fruitless search after hidden treasures; he afterwards caused a reservoir to be dug in the centre and used the priceless marble slabs in building the new temple of Amareśvara and the flight of steps to the adjacent tank of Śivagaṅgā. Some of the slabs were utilised by the Mussalmans in their mosques, after 'carefully divesting of every carving by rubbing them on harder stones, to prevent, as it is said, any pollution arising to Muhammadan faith from idolatrous substances'.[2] Mackenzie revisited it in 1816, when as a result of excavation he recovered some 130 slabs, made drawings of them and prepared a ground-plan of the stūpa. The place was next visited by Sir Walter Elliot in 1845; but in the meantime 70 pieces of sculptures left behind in the open had been carried away by the enterprising villagers and burnt into lime![3] It is deplorable that even the Government Public Works Engineers were equally guilty of such acts of vandalism.[4]

The slabs excavated by Sir Walter were transhipped to England and now adorn the grand stair-case of the British Museum. The next excavation was undertaken by Mr. Sewell, but it was reserved for Dr. Burgess to make a shifting and scientific examination of the spot in 1882-83 and incorporate his findings in a voluminous report. In the first decade of the 20th century, the work was continued, with

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1 Fergusson, History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, 2nd ed., London, 1910, vol. I, p. 123.

2 Burgess, The Buddhist Stūpas of Amarāvatī and Jaggayyapeta, London, 1887, p. 15.

3 Sewell, Report on the Amarāvatī Tope, London, 1880, p. 67.

4 Madras Govt. Orders No. 467, 30 April, 1888, p. 15.

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valuable results, by Mr. Rea of the Archæological Survey. The sculptures which are now in India after surviving the ruthless vandalism through the ages are shared by the Museums of Madras and Calcutta.

An inscription of the reign of Palumāvi Vaśiṣṭhīputra tells us that the Amarāvatī stūpa was known as the Mahācaitya or 'Great Caitya' of the Holy One belonging to the Caitika School. A stūpa or Caitya has its origin in the primitive burial mound of both the Ārya and the Asura.[1] In the vicinity of Amarāvatī itself, there are numerous funeral tumulii, surrounded by rude stone circles, of remote antiquity, which served as the prototypes of the later stately structures in stone or brick. The stūpa at Amarāvatī was not a commemorative monument like the ones at Sarnath or Nagarahāra, neither was it a hollow Caitya containing some relic, as the earlier stūpas at Sanchi, Sonari and Manikyalado. It was a solid structure and rested within a square stone casket, on the top of the dome, in conformity with the convention of the day.

The circular base of the stūpa was 162 ft. in diameter, perhaps only 6 ft. high, supporting a frieze and cornice, and was faced with marble slabs possessing the richest carvings and characterised by the most delicate treatments, depicting miniature representations of the stūpa itself and interposed by panels elaborately carved with scenes from the life of Buddha and the Jātakas. It is very difficult to ascertain whether the dome rose directly from the drum or rested upon several receding terraces like the Gāndhāra, Further Indian or Indonesian specimens. But there was no balustrade to encircle the procession path at the base of the drum as on the great stūpa at Sanchi. The great marble dome of Amarāvatī, unlike the short and stunted dome of Sanchi, rose to a considerable height of 90 ft. (twice that of Sanchi) and was more or less bulging in form. In this respect it presented a contrast to the stilted hemispheres of the earlier northern examples and was more akin to the soaring forms of the Ceylonese dagobas. 'The domical part was covered with stucco, and with wreaths and medallions either executed in relief or painted'.[2] The marble panels were also 'covered originally with thin pláster, coloured and gilt.'

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1 A very illuminating article on the 'Stūpas or Caityas' has been recently contributed by Mr. R. D. Banerjee (vide Modern Review, Calcutta, Feb. 1928).

2 Fergusson, op. cit., p. 80.

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Thus the conception of the whole thing, profound and majestic, was matched by an exterior at once brilliant and dazzling.

As all traces of the great stūpa have been wiped away from the site, we cannot help looking at one of the numerous panels representing the miniature stūpa in order to gain an idea of the original one (see plate). The very first thing that strikes us, and which is visible nowhere in northern India, is the five tall stelæ 'above the front slab, which slightly projects from the base of the dagoba—the bases are square and sometimes ornamented with carvings of Cakra, Bodhi Tree and Dagoba ; the shafts are octagonal, and they have square carved capitals'.[1] The existence of these novel features on the great stūpa is attested by the discovery by Dr. Burgess of a number of these pillars at the Jaggayyapeta stūpa 30 miles north-west of Amarāvatī, of which we have already spoken.[2] In an inscription they are called 'Āryaka Khambhe'. That this was a common feature of the Kaliṅga Stūpas is proved by the recurrence of this element also in the stūpas at Bhaṭṭiprolu and Ghaṇṭaśālā. These projecting pedestals with the enigmatical columns, on the four cardinal points of each stūpa, may correspond to the four shrines in the stūpas at Sanchi and Bhārhūt, and the niches for the Dhyānī Buddhas in the dagobas of Ceylon and the Caityas of Nepal. With the march of time the number of these chapels went on increasing ; at Sarnath they are doubled while Borobuḍur simply bristles with them.

Other slabs invariably present us with another peculiar feature, viz., a dwarf figure standing on each side of the gate, holding a tray on his head.[3] Their constant occurrences lead us to believe that in the original structure they represented statues in the round, bearing trays to receive the offerings of the visitors. Dr. Burgess opines, 'No example of them has been found and the only analogue I know of, is a similar small figure bearing a basin by the doorjamb of the cave at Lonad of the Thānā district near Kalyan.'[4] But we think a closer examination of the extant monuments may yet reveal such figures and in fact there are such at Kārli and in Orissa. A pair of vases with flowers

1 Burgess, op. cit., p. 71.

2 Ghosh, Development of Buddhist Art in South India, Indian Historical Quarterly, Sept. 1927, p. 502.

3 Burgess, op. cit., Plate XXXI, Figs. 6 and 7.

4 Ibid., p. 72.

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(maṅgalakalasa ?) prominently placed at the entrance is another regular feature of the sculptured slabs.

The appearance of two slender pillars or free-standing lats with small Caitya capitals, crowned sometimes with plenty of *Chātās*, one on each side of the entrance within the enclosure, is also remarkable. The paucity of such examples in the northern stūpas is striking; and if they occur at all (as for example at Sarnath and Sanchi) they are situated outside and not inside the rail. The actual presence of these columns in the great stūpa, is supported by the excavations at Jaggayyapeta and Bhaṭṭiprolu. They have also a close affinity with innumerable concentric lats, still standing round the Thupārāma and Laṅkārāma dagobas in Ceylon—a perpetual enigma to the generations of archæologists.

The Rail.—The most singular feature of the early Buddhist and Jaina stūpas is the rail, upon which the artist devoted his most scrupulous attention and lavished all the splendour he could conceive. We are aware of the extant rails at Bhārhūt, Bodh Gaya, Sanchi and Mathura and we know too their wealth of decoration, but the remarkable rail at Amarāvatī has far surpassed them all in the magnificence of elegant carvings and the marvellous display of intrinsic merit. The ornamental detail is simply staggering in its profusion and afford a striking contrast to the plain and simple rail of the great stūpa at Sanchi.

The great rail at Amarāvatī was about 600 ft. in circumference and 14 ft. in height with a procession path 13 ft. broad, intervening between it and the base. It was more than twice the dimension of the rail at Bhārhūt. The Tibetan historian Tāranātha records that the great Buddhist Ācārya Nāgārjuna, the founder of the Mādhyamika School 'surrounded the great shrine of Dhanyakaṭaka with a railing.'[1] Colonel Mackenzie in 1797 was responsible for starting the theory that the stūpa was surrounded by two rails—one inner and another outer. The error persisted with veteran archæologists like Fergusson and Burgess, not to speak of Elliot and Sewell. It was only about two decades ago that Burgess acknowledged and rectified the mistake. 'From some misunderstanding of the first accounts' he added, 'it was supposed that the Amarāvatī Stūpa had an inner

1 Schiefner's Tāranātha's Geschichte des Buddhismus, p. 72; JASB, vol. LI, pp. 119; Indian Antiquary, vol. XII, p. 88.

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A MARBLE SLAB FROM AMARĀVATĪ

(Reproduced from Burgess' The Buddhist Stupas of Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta)

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rail; this was a mistake; the inner circle of sculptures was the facing of the base of the stūpa'.[1]

The rail at Amarāvatī resembled its predecessors in the principal features; but the plinth was richly carved with a frieze of running boys and animals, grotesquely treated. The rectangular pillars were as usual edged off into shallow flutes. They were decorated with half lotus discs at the top and the bottom, and circular discs in the middle inserted with a full-grown lotus or a scene, in the usual manner. But the most typical characteristic about these pillars, is the complete absence of the large standing human representations, occupying the entire surface of the uprights, such as the graceful statues of Yakṣas and Yakṣiṇīs of Bhārhūt, Bodh Gaya and the dancing girls of Mathura. They have entirely disappeared and their place is occupied by greatly magnified and richly carved lotus discs, curling leaves carefully corrugated, comical Gaṇas and an enormous variety of scenic sculptures. The preference for group composition, as opposed to single figures, is very obvious in the swarming of the space between the discs—which was generally left bare and unadorned in the earlier days by vivid and animated delineation of the Jātakas and other incidents. The three cross-bars were each embellished with a beautiful lotus disc with concentric bands of petals, the most elaborate of its kind ever made, and all different. On the massive coping, the meandering creeper of Bhārhūt was replaced by a long wavy roll, carried by moving human figures and dwarfs and interspersed with symbols in the loops. The marvellous change which has taken place in the sphere of ornamentation has already been noticed in the previous chapter on Ornamental Representation.[2] On the whole the inner side of the rail, covered with scenes full of life and movement, was decorated with greater beauty and elaboration than the exterior.

The Amarāvatī rail has a close resemblance to the rail of Stūpa no. 2 at Sanchi, in excellence of carving and richness of detail. The decorative tendency which was strongly evident at Sanchi became more pronounced at Amarāvatī. The lotus medallions grew larger in size and became more prominent (those at the top and bottom were often three-quarters and not half) till at last they reached their climax in the rail of the Gautamīputra cave, Nasik, where the pillars and cross-bars were adorned with full discs only. "The discs were

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1 Fergusson, op. cit., revised by Burgess, pp. 119f.

2 IHQ., Sept, 1927, pp. 486-91.

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multiplied till the pillars almost became evanescent quantities in the composition."

In spite of all these arresting details, we are confronted with the rather astonishing fact that the four openings piercing the great rail at the cardinal points, were not adorned with the beautiful towering Toraṇas, such as we find at Bhārhūt and Sanchi. The sides of the entrance are shown instead as coming out in a 'rude sort of perspective and terminating in neat pillars with bases and capitals, crowned by figures of lions; at the angles too, above the roll, on each side is a lion.'[1] One such lion lying prostrate near the west gate yielded to the spade of Sir Walter Elliot.[2] While the reliefs abound with representations of such structures over the city and palace gates, the conspicuous absence of the characteristic Toraṇas from the great rail is mysterious indeed.

Architectural Representations

Now that we have a picture of the stūpa in the height of its glory, let us proceed to discuss the various forms of architectural representations from the extant remains in relief as well as in the round.

Dwellings and Palaces.—From the sculptured slabs we can find that the ordinary dwelling places were really oblong-shaped huts with barrel-vaulted roofs which unlike the curvilinear forms of Bhārhūt, Sanchi and Bodh Gaya are more or less semi-circular in shape.[3] This may be a peculiar South Indian feature and differs strikingly from the square-thatched houses of Bengal, Behar and Orissa and other early sculptures of the North. Other small detached huts show that they were crowned with circular domed roofs. These instances may lead us to infer that the South had dispensed with all angularity in construction of the roofs of the poor and the common.

The few instances of single and double storied palaces, buildings and shrines, carved here as well as on the Jaggayyapeta slabs, with their railed verandahs, caitya windows and arched roofs with finials —which were continued till the time of the Mahāballipur Rathas— reveal no dissimilarity between them and their northern prototypes. To make the scenes inside visible they are shown in a sort of conventional perspective. Most of the buildings represented are distinctly

1 Burgess, op. cit., p. 70.
2 Ibid., Plate XLV, Fig. 7.
3 Ibid., XXVII, Fig. 1.

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modern in character as Fergusson conjectures; and the practice of setting up wooden architecture was prevalent in South India till comparatively recent times. As at Sanchi, the difference in material of domestic architecture from that of civic and military architecture is distinctly shown in the brick construction of the latter. 'The palace buildings are usually surrounded by high walls on all the four sides with two or more entrance ways. Over these gateways, there are high spires or flag-towers, where sentinels were stationed and where also play bands or Maṇgalavādya, pipe and music, both in the mornings and the evenings. Such places are now found in all Muhammadan palaces or Nowbatkhānās. The construction may be laid out square or circular in accordance with the taste of the kings or owners of the grounds, or it may be even laid out in the form of a semi-circle as in the Kārmuka form of town-plan.'[1]

Most of the above features were recorded by the artists in the panels.

Fortifications.—There is also complete agreement between the southern and northern examples of fortifications. A comparison of the reliefs of Amarāvatī with the architraves of Sanchi gateways, will make this apparent in the identical forms of high and broad brick-walls, massive palisades, strong gateways, lofty towers bristling with turrets and pinnacles set with the usual Buddhist Caitya-window facades, strongly built watch-towers, tiers of stories each supreimposed on the other, adorned with hanging balconies and numerous strategic windows facilitating the discharge of arrows from safe quarters, and other apartments invariably fringed with the rail pattern and crowned with gable-shaped roofs. It must be admitted, however, that it is very difficult to distinguish between a fortress and a palace proper, as in those days every royal abode was a military stronghold and vice-versa.[2]

Temples.—The method of building temples and shrines does not seem to have made much progress since the days of Bhārhūt. The object of adoration was usually placed and worshipped in a court-yard generally flanked on three sides only by buildings (vide Asoka's temple at Bodh Gaya, carved on a Bhārhūt pillar), or within separate structures either oblong or square, but generally open and

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1 Rājagṛhalakṣmaṇam, Mānasāra, ch. xi. Translated by Iyer in Indian Architecture, Madras, 1921, vol. iii, Bk. I, ch. XI.

2 Burgess, op. cit., Plate xxv, Fig. 2, and xxvii, Fig. 2.

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surrounded by pillars. Indeed one may be easily led to ascribe the shrines represented on some of the earliest slabs of Amarāvatī to the Bhārhūt railings.

Gateways.—Although we have no evidence as to actual gateways guarding the entrances of the stūpa itself, the reliefs afford us with copious examples. Two different kinds of Toraṇas can be noticed. One type represents two square and carved pillars surmounted by cushion capitals and crowned with crouching animal figures like those at Bhārhūt, which in their turn support a superstructure of a very broad, solid semi-circular architrave without any volute ends.[1] The second type, occurring more frequently, has exceedingly slender and often plain, square shafts, rising from pot-bases and crowned with or without cushion capitals. There are the usual two or three architraves with volute ends but entirely bare, each ranged above the other, the gaps being linked by vertical posts. A few of them are carved with geometrical patterns.[2] The difference in appearance of the Amarāvatī Toraṇas from those of Bhārhūt, Sanchi and Mathura, lies in the architraves of the former being more curved and the volute ends correspondingly curled up to a greater degree. It can also be noted that perhaps the gateways were not so lavishly enriched with marvellous bas-reliefs as those of Sanchi.

Pillars and Pilasters.—Apart from the pillars which serve architectonic purpose, freestanding sculptured lats can be observed on many of the slabs. There are some with cushion capitals and inverted steps bearing Cakras and other Buddhist symbols.[3] The slender columns within the enclosure, which 'at once remind us of the Asoka lat in Northern India and Iron pillar at Delhi' and specially the rows of pillars round the Anurādhapur stūpas in Ceylon supporting the same cushion capital and inverted slabs, have miniature dagobas always placed on top of them. This is perhaps the first instance where a Caitya constitutes the crowning emblem instead of the usual animal or other familiar northern conventions. The Ceylonese capitals of the particular type are either topped with a knob or with a flat surface.

None of the pillars which must have stood at the gates, remains in its entirety—only fragments have been found. The earlier types were plain and carved with rail pattern and other Buddhist symbols

1 Burgess, op. cit., Plate V, Fig. 2.
2 Ibid., XVIII, Fig. 2.
3 Ibid., V, Fig. 2.

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whil later examples were adorned with the figures of the Buddha and sculptures. The shafts were square, octagonal or many-sided.

Some of the broken fragments of pilasters betray crude craftsmanship and antique characteristics noted below. Dr. Burgess judiciously observes, "These slabs so closely resemble those round the Jaggayyapeta stūpa that we cannot mistake in ascribing them to the same age.[1] They must have belonged to the early stūpa. Like the Nasik and Junar pillars, the base consists of three thin slabs supporting a vase, carved with leaf and bead pattern. This clearly indicates that in ancient times the original wooden shafts were inserted into metal pots to preserve them from decay and injury. This theory has been strengthened by the recent discovery of the bronze shoe of a column at Balawat in Assyria, which points to the frequent use of this particular method in Assyria, Mesopotamia and Persia. Remarkable plastic examples of this type are found at Bodh Gaya, Khaṇḍagiri (Ananta Gumphā). and Gautamīputra cave at Nasik. But unlike the western prototypes, a projecting member, carved with dwarfs or hybrid creatures and ornamented with the old battlements and other motifs, stands over the neck of the body. The shafts, the edges of which are slantingly cut off like those of the Bhārhūt pillars, are adorned with half lotus discs at each and a full one in the middle; and closely resemble the pilasters in the Pithalkora Vihāra. But no pillar with cushion capital, first encountered at Kanheri and so often sculptured in the reliefs, has been discovered. Generally the double carve of the bell-shaped or lotus capital, is very slight and do not possess the graceful sweep of the Asokan capitals; neither it is boldly modelled with soft drooping flutes nor façaded like the Kārli examples. The flutes, on the contrary, are extremely crude and shallow, like the Bhaja specimens and their significance is further reduced by the intersection of bands of lotus leaves and beads. Absolutely smooth capitals, parallel with those found in Nasik caves are not, however, rare. The necking consists of the bead and reel pattern which supports the terraced superstructure, surmounted by a pair of winged animals seated in juxtaposition, similar to those prevalent in other regions.[2]

So we may conclude that the typical characteristics of pillars and

1 Burgess, op. cit., p. 94.

2 Ibid., Plate XLIV, nos. 5, 6; LIV, no. 2.

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pilasters during the 2nd and 1st centuries before the Christian era, are almost identical throughout India, whether in the north (Bhārhūt, Sanchi, Mathura), in the west (Bhaja, Pithalkora, Junar, Kārli, Nasik, etc.), in the east (Bodh Gaya, Udayagiri, Khaṇḍagiri, etc.) or in the south (Amarāvatī, Jaggayyapeta etc.). Mr. Havell remarks "The lotus and vase pillar, besides being one of the most ancient Indian architectural orders, is also the most frequently used. It is found at all periods."[1]

The Ruins of Śaṅkaram and Rāmatīrtham

Let us now take leave of the Kṛṣṇā district and proceed a little higher up the Kaliṅga country. There are two isolated hills covered all over with monolithic and structural Buddhist remains, very close to the village of Śaṅkaram, in the Vizagapatam district of the Madras Presidency. "The monuments," says Mr. Alexander Rea, "are the earliest of their class in the South of India and constitute one of the most remarkable groups of Buddhist remains in the Presidency. Indeed the only other known site in the South, where monolithic remains exist in any considerable number, is that of the Seven Pagodas, and though the Śaṅkaram site is not to be compared with it in point of extent, it takes precedence as regards the age of the monuments."[2] The Eastern Hill, which is the higher of the two, is literally strewn with rock-cut caves and dagobas, the monoliths set upon platforms and terraces, rising in tiers over each other culminate in the dominating structure of a great stūpa on the summit. The grandeur of Borobudur flashes across the mind when we visualize the almost identical arrangement and the imposing profile of the whole mass in its original and pristine glory.

The remains can be classified into three main heads, viz., (1) rock-cut caves, (2) monolithic dagobas and structural stūpas and (3) structural buildings for residential purposes.

Rock-cut Caves.—The surface of the rock at places is hollowed out into a deep recess in order to provide a vertical wall with a platform before it—just in the manner of the peculiar rock-dwellings in Asia Minor, called the Syppilus. On the Eastern Hill, in one such wall,

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1 Havell, Handbook of Indian Art, London, 1920, p. 44.

2 Rea, A Buddhist Monastery on the Śaṅkaram Hills, Vizagapatam Dt." Arch. Sur. Ann. Rep., 1907-08, p. 149.

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double caves are cut, one standing over the other—and each of them is entered only by a single rectangular doorway. The façade is of the Behar caves, the Western Caitya halls or the neighbouring caves in the Godāvarī district. We sorely miss the much familiar Caitya-window, the Caityas, the Buddhist rail and other ornamental devices which decorated the façades of almost all the Buddhist rock-cut caves of the early period.

In Cave I, "over the door which is guarded by figures of Dvārapālas" like the Nasik caves, "weather-worn traces of an architrave can be traced which include two semi-circular pediments with a cornice over it." The usual place of the Caitya-window is usurped by a semi-circular recess occupied by a large-seated image of the Buddha. Figures of the Buddha, sometimes with attendants, are also carved in niches beside the façade. The interior of this cave also differs materially in plan and construction from the early Buddhist Caitya halls. The Chamber, instead of being oblong in shape with an apsidal end, is absolutely square in dimension. It is further characterised by the absence of the double row of columns dividing the interior into a central nave and the two side-aisles as in the Western Caitya caves. The hall is, on the contrary, demarcated into twenty compartments by four cross rows of sixteen pillars. The columns are massive in proportion and do not resemble in any way the early types of pillars with a pot base, lotus or bell capital and animal superstructure. They belong to a different class altogether—having a square base, short octagon in the centre changing into sixteen sides upwards, these several unskilfully moulded neckings followed by a thin and small torus, surmounted again with square block. "Two central piers of the central square have a standing image apparently a Cauri-bearer, cut in the front of the base." Stranger still, a Caitya or rock-cut dagoba with a plainly moulded base, a circular dome and the remains of a tree, stands on a square platform which fills up the space between the four central piers and is situated in the middle of the cave instead of rising precipitously from the floor at the apsidal end of the hall, according to convention. So here we are confronted with the unique spectacle of the combination : a Caitya hall and a Vihāra combined into one.

Cave II above it consists of two apartments—one rectangular vestibule, and a shrine which is also rectangular and without pillars. "The walls of the vestibule are also carved with the Buddha and attendant images and some representations of the dagoba with strikingly bul-

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bous domes" like some at Amarāvatī. Instead of the Caitya, there is a seated image of the Buddha on a pedestal on the back wall of Cave III. In Cave V, the type of pillar is identical with that of No. 1; only it is more slender and has a fluted (?) or moulded torus. "There is a lotus patera at the top of each square and pediment at the top of the octagon." The principal cave on the Western Hill contains another novel feature, viz., the Caitya is placed in a square cavity in the middle of the chamber below the ground level. The ceilings of these caves are plain and flat. The walls and images were originally coated with plaster.

Dagobas.—Almost all the dagobas, strewn about the hill and converging upward, are rock-cut monoliths. They are very crudely worked out and their forms are characterised by the utmost simplicity. The hemispherical "aṇḍa" which is either bulbous, flat or elongated in shape, is nearly superimposed on a drum having also stunted or column-like elongated forms. Formerly they were all covered with Stucco. Compared with the monolithic Stūpas at Bhaja, they appear absolutely bare; even the essential rail ornament is absent from the rim of the drum, and as far as it can be guessed, this device and the favourite Caitya windows do not occur on the Harmika, disfigured as it is. The dagobas on the West Hill are comparatively better. Some of them have moulded bases, plain plasters and cornice round the drum, also a series of inverted slabs on the relic casket, in the conventional way. Others are faced with brick or made wholly of brick.

"The crowning Stūpa rested on a square platform, on which rested the low rock-cut cylinder which formed the lower part of the dome, the upper part being completed in brick. The complete dome must have been a low curve of less than semi-circle.....almost wholly of brick."

Structural Buildings for Residential Purposes.—On the eastern end of the top of the highest terrace, the remains of a structural rectangular Caitya hall made of brick and terminating in an apse, has been excavated. Like the one at Ter, in the Nizam's Dominions, the Caityas are too small to have space or necessity for pillars. It is the main structure round which all other constructions grew up. It has been divided into two compartments by means of the usual partition wall near the apsidal end, into an ante-camber and a shrine. The Caitya is replaced inside the shrine by a rectangular stone pedestal with a cavity on top, probably meant for an image. There

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is a large stone-paved brick hall, faced with pilasters just in front of the Caitya, but at a lower level. "And inside these walls and placed at right angles to them at the same level are the remains of the partition and outer walls of a continuous row of cells and shrines standing on the north, east and south sides." Another peculiar feature is to be met with at the entrance of the hall, which is flanked on either side by apsidal brick structures, with their entrances facing the central passage. The chambers which occupied this position, if at all, in the Western caves, were square and never apsidal. Remnants of other continuous rows of cells have also been dug out around the three sides of the raised Caitya terrace and at the same level with it, while an outer detached row stands parallel to those to the north.[1]

One of the range of hills, in the vicinity of the village of Rāmatīrtham, in the Vizagapatam district, is also studded with the extensive ruins of a Buddhist monastety. Like Śaṅkaram, apart from the foundations of a large brick stūpa, the most interesting buildings here are the structural Caityas so rare in India. On the Gurubhaktakondu Hill, there are remains of an apsidal brick Caitya hall, with a stone dagoba resting on a double pedestal. There is a wall across the chord of the hall. The absence of pillars was perhaps a common characteristic of the stuctural Caityas. In agreement with the Caitya at Chezarla, it has brick pilasters "with moulded bases and capitals, and at the base of each, fragments remain of three crouchant lions." The semi-circular slabs at the foot of the flight of stone stairs at once recalls the beautiful 'moonstones' of Ceylonese architecture. Near by it, at a lower level, is the site of a brick Vihāra, the roof of which was supported by six rows of six piers each—square in section but near the top octagonal. This exceptional arrangement has made it impossible for a quadrangular space to be provided in the middle, in imitation of the Western rock-cut Vihāras. The foundations of other Vihāras do not show remains of columns.[2]

The Date of the Ruins.—Regarding the remains at Śaṅkaram, Mr. Alexander Rea in his Report says, "The sculptures in all the

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1 Most of the data utilised here are borrowed from Mr. Rea's Report.

2 Rea, "Buddhist Monasteries on the Gurubhaktakonda and Durgākonda Hills at Rāmatīrtham." Arch. Surv. Ann. Rep., 1910-11, p. 78-81.

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caves and on their façades generally are crude and primitive in design and have none of the finished technique so strikingly observable at places like Amarāvatī, where the highest phases of the sculptor's art are so lavishly represented. The crudeness may point in either of two ways. It may either represent a very early period of undeveloped workmanship or a later decadence. The Buddhists did not survive sufficiently long after Amarāvatī epoch for any such decadence to have strikingly manifested itself. The inference is therefore that the period represented by these sculptures is earlier than Amarāvatī or possibly prior to the first century. The earliest of the remains here or the monoliths probably belong to the period of Asoka himself. Though the sites founded by him are historically and traditionally described as numerous in Southern India, no traces of any of them have hitherto been found."[1]

Firstly, we cannot concur with the view of Mr. Rea, that the Buddhists and their art "did not survive sufficiently long after Amarāvatī epoch for any such decadence to have strikingly manifested itself." The statement falls to the ground in the face of the discovery of Buddha and Bodhisattva images at Amarāvatī, Jaggayyapeta and other places belonging to the 6th and 7th centuries A.C. and betraying obvious signs of degeneration in technique and treatment. Again we can hardly ignore the invaluable testimony of the famous Chinese traveller Huen-tsang, who passing through the countries of Kaliṅga, Kośala, Andhra and Dhanyakaṭaka in the 7th century noticed stūpas and numerous Saṅghārāmas peopled by hundreds of Buddhist priests.

Secondly, the architecture of the caves, monoliths and other structures, itself does not warrant us to accept the conclusion of Mr. Rea. If the rail pattern, Caitya window motif, sloping door jambs, wooden ribs of the barrel vaulted roof and the wooden screen and the purlins in front of the Caitya hall are indicative of an early age, surely all these features are prominent by their absence at Śaṅkaram. The occurrence of the miniature Caitya windows over the door and some of the windows and the so-called "horse-shoe arch" over the entrance of the vestibule, closely resembling the façade of the Lomaśa Ṛṣi cave, in some of the Buddhist caves at Guntupalle, Godāvari district, in the heart of the Kaliṅga country, is sufficient proof of their pre-Christian age. But we search in vain for these typical details here.

1 Rea, Arch. Sur. Ann. Report, 1907-08, foot-note, p. 158.

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The façade is extremely simple in design, the ceiling is entirely plain and the pillars themselves have not any affinity with the earlier types we are familiar with. On the contrary, many points of similarity can be detected between them and the later cave pillars. Indeed, none of the architectonic features at Śaṅkaram is reminiscent of wooden construction—they are purely lithic in design and conception and indicate a late period when the transition from the wooden to the stone construction has been complete.

Then again the arrangement of the pillars, the square plan of the Caitya Chamber and the situation of the Caitya itself, in the centre of the hall and on a pedestal, are unique in the history of Buddhist architecture in India proper. The presence of the stūpas with square bases, is noticed first in the caves at Kholvi in Rajputana and also at Dhamnar. About the former's date, Mr. Fargusson is of opinion that "they are probably the most modern group of Buddhist caves in India."[1] As regards the monolithic dagobas, they cannot reasonably be assigned to a period earlier than Amarāvatī, much less to the age of Asoka—for the outlines of all the stūpas, large or small, is flat and stunted. We come across the bulbous domes for the first time at Amarāvatī and it is an admitted fact that stunted domes resting upon elongated pedestal is a later development. If we also take into account the structural building at Śaṅkaram, the peculiar combination and arrangement of rows and cells with and around a Caitya, primarily appears in the caves at Dhamnar, about which Fergusson remarks ".....the whole making a confused mass of chambers and caityas in which all the original parts are confounded and all the primitive simplicity of design and arrangement is lost, to such an extent that without previous knowledge they would hardly be recognisable.....There are no exact date for determining the age of this cave but like all of these series, it is late, probably between A.D. 600-700."[2]

So in the absence of any good photographs of the sculptures we have been compelled to take recourse to architecture, and in the light of the above facts, it may not be quite correct to maintain that the period represented by the ruins at Śaṅkaram "is earlier than Amarāvatī or probably prior to the first century A.D." It is very probable,

1 Fergusson, History of Indian and Eastern Arch., vol. I, p. 166.
2 Ibid.

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on the other hand, that they belong to a much later period. The crudeness of the sculptures, of which Mr. Rea speaks, is the natural concomitant of a decayed art, when Buddhism was apparently in its last gasps in Southern India.

DEVAPRASAD GHOSH

Some Additional Notes on Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population

Introduction.

Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar contributed in 1910, in the pages of the *Indian Antiquary*, a thoughtful paper on "Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population," wherein he made a successful attempt to prove that 'there was hardly a class or caste in India, which had not a foreign strain in it.' According to him, the Brāhmaṇas as well as the Kṣatriyas had an admixture of alien blood amongst them; and from antiquarian or ethnological point of view, none of these two classes could boast of pure Vedic Aryan blood in their veins.

It is quite natural that such a view should meet with serious opposition from the orthodox section of our countrymen; but there are also scholars, who have seriously doubted the conclusion. Of such scholars, Mr. C. V. Vaidya must first be taken into consideration; another strong protest comes from the pen of Pandit Gauri Sankar Hirachand Ojha. The purpose of this short note is, however, not to meet the arguments of these two scholars,[1] but to make some additional observations in support of Prof. Bhandarkar's theory.

I

Alexander's Invasion.

Leaving out of account the invasions of the Persian Emperors, Cyrus, Darius or Xerexes, foreign elements began to pour into Aryan Hindu India only with the invasion of Alexander the Great (326 B.C.). These invasions helped to establish in the North-western frontier of India several Greek principalities or Yona

1 The writer of this note proposes to do it in detail in a separate paper to be published shortly.

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settlements and open up the course of further Greek penetrations in later times. The Indians who brought about the destruction of these Greeks (circa 1st century B.C.) were the Śuṅgas on one side and the Śātakarṇis on the other; but their final destruction was the work of the Parthians. During these three long centuries or more, the Greeks had established themselves either as friends or as foes over a considerable portion of Northern India; and it is only natural that some of them showed a tendency towards being assimilated individually or collectively to the indigenous social and religious systems of the country.

On the eve of Alexander's invasion, the whole of North-western India 'was parcelled out into innumerable kingdoms and republics.'

The Yona State of Nysa.

One of these small republics was Nysa. This small hill State is said to have been established by Greek invaders long before the invasion of Alexander the Great. 'The Nyseans', according to Arrian, 'were not an Indian race, but descended from the men who came to India with Dionysus.' This would show how even before Alexander, Greek States were tolerated side by side with the Indian Hindu States; and it may be noted that along with the Indian State of Kamboja this State of Nysa is probably mentioned as the Yona State in the *Majjhima Nikāya* where they are said to have flourished at the time of the Buddha.[1]

The Ambaṣṭhas.

Another republican State in the North-west was that of the *Abastanoi* who are identical with the (Sanskrit) *Ambaṣṭhas*. In the *Bārhaspatya Arthaśāstra* the Ambaṣṭhas are mentioned along with the Hūṇas and the Sindhus.[2] The Hūṇas, as we know very well, were of foreign origin and it is likely that the Ambaṣṭhas, if not originally foreigners themselves, did not at least belong to the orthodox Hindu fold of the Indian social or religious system; for neither the Purāṇas nor the Smṛtis seem to incorporate them into the higher castes of the Hindus. The Purāṇas call them Ānava Kṣatriyas,[3] and the Smṛti literature brands them as a people of mixed Brāhmaṇa and Vaiśya parentage. It seems that

1 "Yona Kambojeṣu dveva vaṇṇā Ayyoc'eva Dāso ca" (M. N. II. 149).

2 "Kāśmīra-Hūn-Āmbaṣṭha-Sindhavaḥ." Ed. by F. W. Thomas, p. 21.

3 Pargiter, Anc. Ind. Historical Tradition, pp. 108 and 109 where the Ambaṣṭhas are mentioned also as kinsmen of the Śivis.

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they were incorporated into the Hindu population as the warrior class, i.e., the Kṣatriyas (Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, VIII, 21, mentions one Ambaṣṭha king whose priest was Nārada), but they were never regarded as pure Kṣatriyas.[1]

"India, after the death of Alexander the Great," says Justin, "had shaken, as it were, the yoke of servitude from its neck and put his Governors to death. The author of this liberation was Sandrocottus" or Candragupta who had to wage war with Seleucus, son of Antiochus. Seleucus could not achieve much success. Strabo informs us that he had to surrender the Alexandrian settlements to Candragupta and conclude a "marriage contract." It is not certain whether the 'Syrian king gave his daughter in marriage' to Candragupta or the latter gave his daughter to the former; but this much is certain that a matrimonial alliance was concluded between the Indian king and Greek general. Candragupta was a Maurya and the Mauryas are referred to as belonging to the Kṣatriya caste in the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta*. The *Mahāvaṃsa*, too, represents them as Kṣatriyas. The *Divyāvadāna* represents Bindusāra, son of Candragupta, as "*Kṣatrīyo Mūrdhābhiṣiktaḥ*", and Asoka as "Kṣatriya."[2] The evidence of Strabo, therefore, seems to support the view that a matrimonial relation between a Hindu Kṣatriya and a Greek was not improper.

Greek-Kṣatriya Marriage Contract.

It is interesting to note that the Asokan province of Surāṣṭra was governed by a Greek, Yavana Yuḥsaṣpa, with Girinagara or Girnar as his capital.

Prof. Bhandarkar and Dr. Ray Chaudhuri have been able to show that the Yavana invader contemporaneous with Patañjali, was Demetrius (and not Menander) who advanced as far as Śāketa and Mādhyamika at the time of Puṣyamitra Śuṅga. Menander has long been shown to be identical with Milinda of inscriptions and literature, who became a convert to Buddhism. But the fact that Demetrius

Demetrius-Dattamitra.

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1 Curiously enough, the Ambaṭṭha Sutta (Dia., Part I, p. 109) puts forth the claim of the Ambaṭṭhas as being Brāhmaṇas; but Brāhmaṇical literature, as has been shown, never supports the claim. In modern times the Ambaṣṭhas are treated as Kṣatriyas in Bihar and as Vaidyas in Bengal.

2 Ray Chaudhuri, Pol. Hist. of Anc. India, 2nd ed.

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was admitted into the contemporary social system of the Hindus still remains to be recognised. We do not exactly know whether he really became a convert to Buddhism or to Brāhmaṇical Hinduism, but the Mahābhārata seems to point to this Greek king when it names a king as Dattamitra. Dattamitra is peculiarly an Indian name whose memory survives in the name of the city of Dattāmitra in Sauvīra according to Patañjali.[1] The same city is mentioned in the Vyākaraṇa of Kramādīśvara,[2] and also in one of the Nasik Cave inscriptions.[3] Had not Demetrius been owned as an Indian Hindu king, we would not have found his name Indianised and a city named after him to perpetuate his memory. It should be mentioned in passing that Justin, the Greek author, mentions in the title of his now-lost forty-first book, Menander and Appollodotus, as *Indian kings*[4] (as distinguished from Greek kings), probably meaning that they were kings who were admitted into the Indian social system; and we know that Menander was so admitted.

Menander-Milinda

That Seleucus could conclude a "marriage contract" with Candragupta, that a Greek Menander could become Milinda, that another Greek, Demetrius, could become Dattamitra with an Indian city named after him, that a Yavana Irila or Candra or a Yonaka Dhammadeva could become a devout Buddhist, that a Greek Heliodora could become a Bhāgavata—these are sufficient proofs that the Hindu social and religious systems were accommodating enough to allow into thier fold the absorption of foreign or barbarian elements.

II

The second wave of foreign immigration into India came with the onrush, one by one, of the Śakas, the Parthians and the Kuṣāṇas, for another period of three long centuries. The extent and amount of their contribution of foreign elements to Hindu population, as Prof. Bhandarkar shows, is considerable. The conversion to Buddhism of most

Śaka-Brāhmaṇa Marriage.

1 Ind. Ant., "Foreign Elements," 1910, p. 6.

2 Ray Chaudhuri, Pol. Hist. of Anc. India, 2nd. ed., p. 244, and note.

3 Ep. Indica., vol. VIII, p. 90.

4 Rhys Davids, Milinda, p. xix.

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of the imperial Śaka rulers, the posing of Śaka Uṣavadāta as a pillar of Brāhmaṇical orthodoxy, the matrimonial alliance of Mahākṣatrapa Rudra with Vāśiṣṭhīputra Śrī Śātakarṇi of the orthodox Hindu fold and the personal predilections of private Śaka individuals, have all been dealt with by Prof. Bhandarkar. It only remains to be shown how some of the earliest Śaka governors actually took Hindu names and Kṣatriya name-endings. The early Śaka rulers became converts to Buddhism or Brāhmaṇism, but they ordinarily did not change their Śaka names. Two exceptions, however, are known. We know that the North Indian Kṣatrapas are generally divided into three main groups: viz., (*a*) the Satraps of Kapisi, (*b*) the Satraps of Western Punjab, (*c*) the Satraps of Mathura. The Punjab Satraps belonged to three houses, one of which was that of Indravarman. The Satrapal family was certainly a foreign one, but Indravarman is undoubtedly an Indian name, and that he was a Kṣatriya can easily be assumed from the suffix "Varman." So was also his son Aspavarman but Aspa's nephew who probably did not become a convert retained his original Śaka name, Sasas. Prof. Bhandarkar has pointed out that the first components Jaya and Rudra in the names of Jayadāman and Rudradāman are unquestionably Hindu. Apart from these names that end with a Śaka suffix, there are distinctly Hindu names in Rudradāmana's line ending with Hindu suffixes, e.g., Rudrasiṃha, Rudrasena, Damasena, Vijayasena, Viśvasiṃha and others.

The Śakas.

In the Nasik Praśasti of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, the Sātavāhanas are considered as Brāhmaṇas; in fact, Gautamīputra claims himself to be "*Eka Bahmana*" (the unique Brāhmaṇa) as also "*khatiya-dapa-māna-madana*" (the destroyer of the pride and conceit of the Kṣatriyas). In the same Praśasti he claims to have been "a promoter of the homesteads of the twice born (dvijas) and the low," and to have "stopped the confusion of the four varṇas." The very fact that he takes pride in stopping the confusion of the four varṇas seems to prove that such confusion was of common occurrence; and if Rapson's identification of Pulamāyi with Vāśiṣṭhīputra Śrī Śātakarṇi be correct, then Gautamīputra himself may be said to have been guilty of allowing contamination of foreign blood in his own family. For Vāśiṣṭhīputra Śrī Śātakarṇi (=Pulamāyi) is represented in a Kanheri inscription as the husband of a daughter of Mahākṣatrapa Ru(dra), i.e., Rudradāman. Even if Rapson's identification be incorrect, we may safely say that Gautamīputra's

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attempt to stop the contamination of the four varṇas was not successful.

The Kuṣāṇas.

The Kuṣāṇas were a branch of the Mongolian Yueh-chis. But the earliest Kuṣāṇa king Kujula-Kadphises was devoted to Brāhmaṇism. Kaniṣka and Huviṣka were patrons of Buddhism; and Vāsudeva, the last of the early Kuṣāṇa's name, is a sufficient proof that he was looked upon as an Indian, nay a Hindu. So thoroughly had they imbibed the Hindu faith and culture that they styled themselves, and were in later times known, "Devaputra" or "Daivaputra" in epigraphic records. And yet one of the later Kuṣāṇa kings of the Kabul valley gave his daughter in marriage to Hormisdas II, the Sassanian king of Persia (A.C. 301-309).[1]

Caste—a 'social fiction.'

The infiltration of these barbaric hordes produced no doubt an ethnic confusion (*varṇasaṃkara*) which was viewed with concern by the orthodox section of the Hindu population. It was this sentiment that found expression in the Nasik inscription of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi who claims to have stopped this growing tide of Varṇasaṃkara. Now this sentiment of conservatism began to manifest itself in stricter social legislation as can be evidenced in the Dharmasūtras. But we shall have instances still to show that history always defied these strict codifications of social laws, and barbaric tribes still continued to be merged into the Hindu population; the contamination of the four varṇas continued unchecked through the process of subtle sociological fusion. Mon. Senart's assertion that 'caste system was largely a social fiction', therefore, seems to be a fact that stands on assured grounds.[2]

III

The Hūṇas.

The third wave of foreign infiltration began with the incoming of the Hūṇas, the Gurjaras, the Maitrakas and other allied tribes. That the Hūṇas were a foreign race is never questioned; in literature as well as inscriptions they are referred to as 'Mlecchas' or barbarians. They seem to have

1 Ray Chaudhuri, Pol. Hist. of Anc. India, 2nd Ed., p. 304.

2 Emile Senart, Les Castes dans l'Inde: les Faits et la Système, 1886.

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entered India by the middle of the 5th century A.C. So easily and so thoroughly they became Hinduised in less than a century, that Mihirgul or Mihirakula became a devout worshipper of Śiva. Prof. Bhandarkar says that as early as the 11th century of the Christian era they came to be regarded as Kṣatriyas, with whom the Indian kings never hesitated to contract matrimonial alliances.

The foreign origin of the Gurjaras and of the Maitrakas, the Cālukyas, Paramāras Cāhamānas and other Rajput clans is still doubted. Both Mr. C. V. Vaidya and Pandit Ojha have put forward strong arguments against the theory of foreign origin of these tribes. We shall try in a future paper to examine in detail the arguments of these two scholars. We shall see there what the local traditions, chronicles and, above all, epigraphic documents have to say for or against the theory and shall bring out the most probable theory regarding the origin of these different tribes. We propose here to consider only one short argument in favour of Prof. Bhandarkar's theory.

Personal Names of Early Gurjara Kings.

The foreign origin of the Gurjara Pratihāras may become apparent when we make a close study of the personal names of the Pratīhāra dynasty of Rajputana (Mandor), the earliest house of the Gurjaras. Haricandra, the first king, was surnamed *Rohilladdhi*; in fact, it seems, that *Rohilladdhi* was his original name and Haricandra was the name which he adopted when he came to be recognised as a Brahmin. Of his four sons, three bore the names of Kakka, Rajjilla and Dadda. *Rajjilla's* son was Narabhaṭa, but his original name seems to have been *Pettapelli*. Narabhaṭa was succeeded by Nāgabhaṭa who had originally been known as *Nahada*. Then came in succession Tāta Bhoja, Yaśovarman, Canduka, Siluka, Jhātobara, Bhillāditya (otherwise known as Bhilluka), Kakka, Bauka and Kakkuka. Of these Kakka, Dadda, Rajjilla Bhilluka, Bauka, etc. may be regarded as having been known by names—which may be traced to Sanskrit or Sanskritic Prakrits. But let us consider three names, viz., Haricandra, Narabhaṭa and Nāgabhaṭa. These three names are undoubtedly of Sanskritic origin; but what would we say of their original names, *Rohilladdhi*, *Pettapelli and Nahada*, which they retained along with their Sanskritic Hindu names? These original names do not seem to have been derived from Sanskrit or Sanskritic Prakrits; at best, they do not seem to be Aryan Hindu names. Yet we know that all these kings claimed to be Kṣatriyas and were devout Hindus or Buddhists. The natural conclusion, therefore, is

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that they were not indigenous to the soil; at least, they were not Vedic Aryan Hindus. Alien to the soil, with strange names, they came to own a large tract of the country which became the land of their adoption. In course of time, they adopted also the religion and culture of the country. In other instances, the original names were probably dropped.

Besides these Gurjaras and other allied tribes there were other Hindu dynasties which were originally of foreign extraction. Of such dynasties, the Shāhī dynasty of Kabul must be taken into cosideration. Kabul, i.e., Kapiśa-Gandhāra, had always been a part of India and the kings of the country were always treated as Indians. During the time of Yuan Chwang's visit, the whole region seems to have been under the king of Kapiśa (Ka-pi-shih) "who was of Kṣatriya caste, was an intelligent courageous man, and his power extended over more than ten of the neighbouring lands."[1] It is not certain whether this Kṣatriya king was originally a foreigner or an Indian. We know that from very early times this part of India had been ruled by kings and dynasties that were foreigners. The province had been in constant turmoil of foreign invasions, one by one, of the Persians, the Greeks, the Bactrians, the Śakas, the Parthians and the Kuṣāṇas who enjoyed the land. This would lend colour to the assumption that the Shāhī dynasty that held its rule over Kabul during the 8th and 9th centuries were foreigners, especially when we remember that the very name of the dynasty is not Indian but Scythic in origin. The Śāhis are mentioned in the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta along with the Daivaputras (perhaps identical with the Kuṣāṇas), Shāhānshāhīs, Śakas and Murundas as frontier tribes, who all did homage to Samudragupta. All these tribes without one single exception are admittedly foreign and all of them held sway in the North-western frontier. Now, these Śāhis are mentioned as reigning in a North-Western frontier territory, i.e. in Kabul, by Kalhana, the poet chronicler of Kāśmīr, and also by Arab historians. Therefore, the Kṣatriya Buddhist king of Kapiśa mentioned by Yuan Chwang was also a Śāhi, and, though originally a foreigner, he came to be regarded, as had so often been the custom, as a Kṣatriya. These Śāhis were, as we can guess from Yuan Chwang, pious Buddhists. But whether the

Shāhī Dynasty of Kabul.

1 Watters, "Yuan Chwang," vol. I, p. 124.

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Kṣatriya king mentioned by Yuan Chwang was a Śāhi, we are not sure. But it is certain that there was a Shāhī dynasty in Kabul during the 8th and 9th centuries and that, we are informed by Kalhana and Alberuni they were known as Hindus.

Śaṅkaravarman, king of Kāśmīr (884-902 A.C.), conquered a Śahi king named *Lalliya*, whose kingdom he seized. *Lalliya* was made to flee away and take refuge with *Alakhāna Gurjara* (notice the non-Indian character of the name). After Śaṅkaravarman's death, Prabhākaravarman, guardian of Saṅkara's minor son Gopālavarman, again conquered the Śāhi kingdom and placed on the throne *Toramāna*, son of *Lalliya*. Diddā, the noted queen of Kāśmīr, is represented as the grand-daughter of another Śāhi king whose name was Bhīma. Bhīma built in Kāśmīr a temple of Viṣṇu called Bhīma Keśava, in honour of his grand-daughter. The Rājataraṅgiṇī gives us a detailed graphic description of the extinction of this Shāhī dynasty of Kabul, during the reign of its last king Trilocanapāla, at the hands of the Turks, under Mahmud.

Of this Hindu Śāhi dynasty, Alberuni gives us a somewhat different account. He says that the last king of the dynasty of *Kanik* (i.e. Kaniṣka) was *Lagaturman* and his *vazir* was *Kallar*, a Brahmin. *Kallar* put his minister in chains and occupied the royal throne. After him ruled Brahmin kings named *Samand*, *Kamalu*, *Bhīm*, *Jayapāla*, *Ānandapāla* and *Tarojānapāla*.

Now, it has been shown that *Kallar* is only a misreading for *Kalliya*[1]; *Kamalu* is mentioned in the Rājataraṅgiṇī as *Kamaluka*; *Bhīma* (most probably another name for Toramāna) is identical with Bhīma of Kalhana and *Tarojānapāla* is certainly Trilocanapāla. This is also supported by the findings of Cunningham who in his "Coins of Mediæval India" has shown that the names *Spalapatideva*,

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1 Lalliya is said to have overthrown a dynasty and founded a new one. The identification of Kallar with Lalliya makes both the events suit well. The dynasty overthrown was that of the later Kuṣāṇas, as Alberuni says, and was, therefore, a foreign one. The Shāhī dynasty founded by Lalliya was a new one. But the Allahabad ins. of Samudragupta mentions the existence of the Shāhīs in the North-west. Notice should also be taken of the Shahvihāra outside Kabul (apparently founded by a Shāhī king) plundered by Mahmud in 786. A.C. about a century before Lalliya had established his dynasty.

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Sāmantadeva, *Kharmarayaka* and *Bhīmadeva* found on some Kāṣmīr coins, are to be assigned to *Kallara*, *Sāmanta*, *Kamalu* and *Bhīma* of Alberuni. If we collate these evidences, we can see that the Śāhis were considered to be not only Hindus, but also Brahmins. The name Toramāna was actually borne by a Hūṇa king, and Lalliya, whatever it might be, cannot be accepted as an Indian name. Mark also the prefix Spala in the name Spala-patideva. This is probably Scythian. It has already been said that they might have been foreigners; and these names afford an additional proof. And yet, from Lalliya to Trilocanapāla, all are said to be belonging to the Brahmin Śāhi dynasty, so much so that they easily entered into matrimonial relations with the kings of the of Brahmin dynasties of Kāṣmīr. A grand-daughter of a Śāhi king and a daughter of a Lohara king (Siṃharāja) was married to Kṣemagupta; another daughter of a second Śāhi king was married to the son of Tuṅga.

Next we refer to two foreign *Yavana* dynasties that held sway in Orissa and Central India. The history of Orissa, after the glorious reign of Khāravāla of the Cetā dynasty, is not sufficiently known. It is permissible to think that the local native dynasties continued to rule for several centuries when they were overthrown by a Yavana invasion. The name of the invader, viz. Raktabāhu, is supplied by Sir William Hunter on the authority of local palm-leaf manuscripts discovered by him.[1] In his opinion Raktabāhu should be assigned to the early part of the 4th century A.C. The palm-leaf manuscripts really call Raktabāhu and his descendants Yavanas. These Yavanas held their sway over Orissa up till the 7th century A.C., when they were overthrown by the rising Keśarī dynasty. We know that Backtrian Greeks held their rule in North-western countries up till the 1st century A.C. and it is a plausible guess that some of them advanced towards the interior and established a dynasty of their own in Orissa by the beginning of the 4th century A.C. It is certain that these Yavanas in their gradual process of advance became thoroughly Hinduised so much so that the first invader was given a significant Hindu name Raktabāhu.

Yavanas of Orissa.

The existence of a Yavana dynasty in Orissa is further supported by the evidence of the existence of another Yavana dynasty in Central India, c. 7th and 8th centuries A.C. Sir William surmised that the

1 Sir William Hunter, "Orissa," vol. 1, pp. 206ff.

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dispossessed Yavanas of Orissa probably migrated southwards and settled in central parts of India in the 6th century A.C. Now, this surmise finds its historical support in an interpolated passage of the Viṣṇu Purāṇa wherein it is stated that after the earth has been enjoyed by the Andhrabhṛtyas, Yavanas, Turuṣkas, Mundas and the Monas for 1090 years, there shall be the *Kailakila Yavanas*, not crowned religiously (amūrdhābhiṣiktaḥ). The earlier Yavanas mentioned here must be taken to mean the Bactrian Greeks of North-western India and the Kailakila Yavanas should be taken to mean the Yavanas of Central India, as already surmised by Sir William Hunter. The mention of these Kailakila Yavanas is also made in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa. The Viṣṇu Purāṇa gives the names of nine kings of Kailakila Yavanas, and their very names would show that they must have become Hinduised by that time. These names are : (1) Vindhyaśakti, (2) Purañjaya, (3) Rāmacandra, (4) Dharmavarman, (5) Vaṅga, (6) Nandana, (7) Sunandina, (8) Nandiyaśas, (9) Śukra-Pravīra. Five of these nine names we can trace also in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa. These are (1) Bhutananda (Nandana), (2) Bangiri (Vaṅga), (3) Śiśunandin (Sunandin), (4) Yaśonandin (Nandiyaśas), (5) Pravīrakaḥ (Śukra-Pravīra).

The existence of the Yavanas in Central India as late as the last quarter of the 8th century A.C. is also attested to by the Khalimpur inscription of Dharmapāla, wherein a Yavana king is mentioned, among the feudatories of Kanoj, along with the kingdoms of the Bhojas, Matsyas, Madras, Kurus, Yadus, Avantis, Kiras and others.[1] The fact that the Yavanas continued to rule in different parts of India as Indian kings with Indian names as late as the 8th century A.C., would suffice to show how gradually they were being incorporated into the Hindu population.

NIHAR RANJAN RAY

1 C. V. Vaidya, Mediæval Hindu India, vol. I, p. 351. In his note on the Kailakila Yavanas, Mr. Vaidya thinks that they were settled in Andhra, for, according to Hunter, these Yavanas claimed Andhra descent.

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On the Identification of Soṇacala and Aruṇacala in the Skandapurāṇa

The third and fourth cantos of the first book (Māheśvarakhaṇḍam) of the Skandapurāṇa is wholly dedicated to the *māhātmya* of Aruṇācalam. The identification of Aruṇācala has been made difficult by the compilers of the Purāṇa by their identifying Śoṇācala with Aruṇācala and vice versa. Thus Śoṇācala has been declared to be the other name of Aruṇācala (i, 3, 9, 3) and the descriptions of the *māhātmya* and surroundings of the two hills have also been confused; the description of Aruṇācala and Śoṇācala has been alternately described in i, 4, 4, 27-29 and i, 3, 6, 70 ff. Sometimes even the distinctive features of one hill have been transferred to the other; e.g., in i, 3, 6, 119f. a Tīrtha of Śoṇācala is described and in the next verse (121) it is said that in that tīrtha Aruṇācala is worshipped, whereas in the very next verse (122) it is said that Śoṇācala is worshipped there. However, a close examination of these chapters will make it clear that the Purāṇa has preserved genuine geographical records regarding the two distinct localities of these two hills, though they have been much confused and mixed up together. Thus the following verses are to be found in i, 3, 6, 125-127 regarding the boundary of Śoṇācala.

Uttarasyāṃ diśi purā puṇyā Skandanadī sthitā/
Atra snātvā purā Skandaḥ samprāpto vipulaṃ balam// 125
Paścimasyāṃ diśi khyātāparā Kumbhanadī śubhā/
Agastyaḥ kumbhakaḥ kumbhas tatra nityaṃ vyavasthitaḥ// 126
Gaṅgā ca mūlabhāgasthā yamunā gagane sthitāḥ/
* * * * sevante Śoṇaparvatam// 127.

Here it is apparent how the physical features of the two distinct hills have been preserved, no doubt in a confused form and applied with regard to Śoṇācala only. The river Skanda, as the name implies, was associated with Skanda or Kārttikeya or Kumāra and in fact the association of the river with Skanda has been admitted (125B). The exploits of Skanda with the demons, which are narrated at great length in most of the books of the Skandapurāṇa, show that the locality concerned in these struggles was Veṅkaṭācala and the neighbouring places of the Madras Presidency. The identification

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of Skandanadī is, therefore, to be sought in the Madras Presidency. There is a hill called Puṣpagiri, a spur of the Western Ghats, on the North-western boundary of Coorg in the South-Canara district of Madras. From the Bisli Ghats below the Puṣpagiri there rises a river called Kumāradhāra, which while flowing through the Bellary district, passes by the side of a celebrated place of pilgrimage called Kumārasvāmī in Tulu, a place 26 miles from Hospot, which is near the Guntakal junction of the S. M. Railway. The river also flows through the Northern Arcot district of the Madras Presidency, by the side of the Svāmitīrtha where the temple of Kumārasvāmī or Kārttikasvāmī or Skanda is situated—a place which is about a mile from Tiruttani, a station of the Madras and S. M. Railway, some 51 miles on the west of Madras. All these Tīrtha places and temples of Kumārasvāmī or Skanda in the Madras Presidency certainly are associated with the exploits of Kumāra, and it is a noteworthy fact that the river on the bank of which these are situated is called Kumāradhārā, i.e., the dhārā or river of Kumāra or Skanda. Skandanadī is, therefore, the Kumāradhārā of the Madras Presidency. Regarding the river Kumbha, it may be said that the association of the river with Agastya is distinctly admitted, and it may be inferred that the river in question was somewhere near Agastyāśrama, a place which has been identified with Agastyapurī, 24 miles to the south-east of Nasik. But if it is a river of Nasik, we should note in that case that the position given in our Purāṇa regarding the two rivers does not agree; the river Kumbha flows on the north of Skanda or Kumārdhārā, instead of flowing in a south-western direction from the river Skanda or Kumāradhārā as the Purāṇa clearly tells us. The Kumbhanadī is, therefore, not a river of Nasik. But in i, 126B it is said that Agastya always resides there. As the river Kumbha was surely associated with Agastyāśrama, wherever that might be, the statement in i, 126B leads us to infer that the Agastyāśrama, with which the river Kumbha was associated, was in the Agastyakūṭa mountain of the Tinnevelly district, and as such it was surely one of the Agastyāśramas (Caldwell's Dravidian Grammar, Introduction, p. 118; Bhāsa's Avimāraka, Act iv). The river Kumbha, therefore, rising from the Agastyakūṭa mountain of the Tinnevelly district, flowed northwards, and lay on the west of Aruṇācala, on the north of which again the river Skanda or Kumāradhārā was situated as will be subsequently shown. Anyway it is now clear that the rivers Skanda and Kumbha were in Southern India.

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Assuming, however, that the two names, Śoṇācala and Aruṇācala, refer to one and the same hill, it seems an improbability that the hill covered such a vast area from the Ganges valley in the north to the Madras Presidency in the south, if, of course, the ślokas quoted above are at all to be interpreted as containing the boundary of one hill only. Hence we are to regard the ślokas as containing the boundary of two distinct and separate hills. It may of course be argued that as the 3rd and the 4th cantoes of the Skandapurāṇa are wholly devoted to the description of the *māhātmya* of Aruṇācala, a south Indian hill, we are not justified in assuming that a hill of Northern India (Śoṇācala) is meant here, and that the river Ganges probably mean a river of Southern India, while the river Yamunā is wholly mythical, described only to complete the reference to the Ganges. I quite agree that there are Ganges also in Southern India, and that one of the same may lie near about Aruṇācala, but when in connection with Śoṇācala it is distinctly said that the river Ganges has been joined by the river Śoṇa (i, 3, 6, 90) are we to believe that the river Ganges as described (i, 3, 6,127) means a river of Southern India ? Should we not think that the river Ganges of the above śloka (127 A) means the famous Ganges of Northern India, and that the verse 127 of i, 3, 6 apply to Śoṇācala, while the verses 125 and 126 apply to Aruṇācala,—a north and south Indian hill respectively. It is really impossible to reconcile the position of a river called the Ganges with a confluence of the Śoṇa (i, 3, 6, 90) in the Madras Presidency, where Aruṇācala lies. However, let me take Śoṇācala first. The name Śoṇācala suggests that the acala or mountain is associated with Śoṇa which is the name of a famous river in Eastern India. In Central Provinces there is also a river called Śoṇa which rises in the Saletekri Hill and takes a Southern course. But I am inclined to think that the Śoṇa which is associated with an acala, is the famous Śoṇa of East India. The river Śoṇa, as we know, rising from the northern slopes of the mount Amarakaṇṭaka of the Maikala range of the Central Provinces, flows northwards, until it reaches the Kaimur range. The Kaimur range, a detached portion of the Vindhyas, commencing from the Jubbalpore district, runs northwards until it reaches the south-eastern boundary of the Maihir valley, from which place it takes a turn to the east compelling the river Śoṇa to take a similar course along its southern base. Then from the Maihir valley the range and the river run and flow eastwards until Rhotasgarh (some 36 miles immediate south-west of Sasaram) is reached. Here the range stops, and the river in modern times pursues

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a northern course with a slight eastern bend, passing through the districts of Gaya and Patna in Behar and meets the Ganges at a place eight miles east of Chapra near Dinapur. But at the time of the Rāmāyaṇa (Ādi., Ch. 32) the river, without taking the present north-eastern course from Rhotasgarh flowed further eastwards, and then took a northern direction, flowing by the eastern side of Rājagṛha, then called Girivraja, and by the western base of the Mudgala hill of Monghyr, and joined the Ganges at Fatwa. Mudgala hill is the Hiraṇya-parvata of Hiuen-Tsang, which according to Cunningham is a form of Haraṇa-parvata (Arch. Survey, xv, pp. 15, 16; Anc. Coorg., p. 476); and as the river Śoṇa flowed by the base of the Hiraṇyaparvata, it was also called Hiraṇyabāhu or Hiraṇyavahā, the Erannaboas of the Greeks. So it seems that the position of the Kaimur range and the course of the river, as is described here, lends a great colouring to the view that the Śoṇācala of our Purāṇa is no other than the Kaimur range of the Central Provinces and this is further supported by other evidences. Thus in i, 3, 6, 90-91 we read the following ślokas regarding Śoṇācala.

Hiraṇyagarbhatanayaḥ purā Śoṇanadaḥ pumān/
Atra tīvraṃ tapas taptvā gaṅgābhimukhago 'bhavat// 90
Atra Śoṇa-nadī puṇyā pravahaty amalodakā/
Beṇā ca puṇyataṭinī paritaḥ sevate 'calaṃ// 91

Here Hiraṇyagarbhatanaya does not mean that Śoṇa is the son of Hiraṇyagarbha mountain, and, therefore, has taken its rise from that mountain. Tanaya in Sanskrit is often used in case of a river when the sense of serving is implied, which fulfils the Brāhmaṇical idea of the ideal of a son. The idea of "serving a mountain by a river flowing by its base," amounting to the ideal condition of relationship between a father and a son or a father and a daughter, is often to be found in Sanskrit literature expressed by the term 'Tanaya', though in reality they are not father and son or father and daughter, i.e., the river has not taken its rise from the mountain, but only flows by its base. Similar is the case with the river Śoṇa in these ślokas where it is called Hiraṇyagarbhatanaya, only because perhaps at that time the river flowed by the base of the Hiraṇyaparvata or Mudgalagiri of Monghyr as shown above. It is also stated that the river Śoṇa joined the Ganges (90). This is also quite correct but the place of confluence was further eastward from the present place of confluence. Further, it is said that the river serves Śoṇācala (91 A). Accepting Śoṇācala as the Kaimur range, it follows that the river Śoṇa served

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the acala, for the river flowed as it still now flows by the southern base of the Kaimur range for a long distance and as such "serves" it. It is also stated that the river Beṇā (91 B) "serves" Śoṇācala. There are, of course, many Benās, but considering the position of Śoṇācala, it may be said that the river in question is the present river Bāṇas, a tributary of the Ganges, which rising from the northern slopes of the Kaimur range of Behar and Orissa, flows in a northern direction, by the western side of Arrah and meets the Ganges. Before taking a definite northern direction through the plains, the river Bāṇas possibly had a long zigzag course around the northern base of the Kaimur range, which suggested to the compilers of the Purāṇa. that the river serves Śoṇācala. The above ślokas, therefore, bear correct geographical ideas, and certainly go to prove that the Kaimur range was Śoṇācala. It is also stated in a śloka (i, 3, 6, 127, quoted above) that the river Ganges and Yamunā serve Śoṇaparvata at the base (mūlabhāge) and at the head (gagane) respectively. This has also been found true by the present geographical position of the Kaimur range. It should be noticed that the Kaimur range gently stretches to the valley of the Ganges in the north, and the river Ganges also takes a southern bend in a semi-circular way from Allahabad to Benares, so that the river also touches and flows by the side of the Kaimur range, as much as the river Śoṇa flows through the southern base of the Kaimur range. So it is said that the river Ganges serves the Śoṇaparvata at the mūladeśa. The river Yamunā which meets the Ganges at Allahabad lies on the north-west of the Kaimur range, and compared with the position of the river Ganges, is higher up flowing from the west to the east. The river Yamunā appears to be flowing higher and higher above the Kaimur range, because the river meets the Ganges at Allahabad (which is the nearest point of distance between the Kaimur and the Yamunā). By flowing not in a straight eastern course, but with a slight and gradual southern bend, which, if viewed in a reverse position from Allahabad, appear, as if flowing not in a straight western course, but with a gradual northern lift, the river Yamunā appears higher and higher from the south-eastern corner of the Kaimur range (in the Maihir valley from which the range and the Śoṇa takes an eastern course) and as such serves the parvata by flowing in gaganadeśa, while the river Ganges because of her semi-circular southern bend from Allahabad to Benares appeared to the compilers as if flowing by the base of the Kaimur range. Though not precisely

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accurate, the passage quoted above (i, 3, 6, 127) clearly evinces the fairly good geographical knowledge of the ancient Indians regarding the position of the Ganges and the Yumnā with regard to the Kaimur range or Śoṇācala. Another passage may be quoted to establish the identity of Śoṇācala with the Kaimur range.

Asya bhāskaranāmādriḥ pūrvasyāṃ diśi dṛśyate/
Yatra sthitaḥ sadā vajrī sevate Śoṇaparvatam// 27
Pratīcyāṃ diśi Daṇḍādrir iti kaścin mahīdharaḥ/
Prācetasas tadagragaḥ sevate 'ruṇaparvatam// 28
Dakṣiṇasyāñ ca Śoṇādrer adrir asty amarācalaḥ/
Kālaḥ Śoṇādrisevārtham * * * * 29 (ii, 4, 4,)

It should be noticed here that the mention of Aruṇaparvata in 28B is carelessly inserted by a later compiler, for the boundary of the parvata which the compiler wants to describe in these ślokas is evidently of Śoṇaparvata which is mentioned in three places and not of Aruṇaparvata which is mentioned only once. So in place of Aruṇaparvata in 28B we can reasonably substitute the word Śoṇaparvata, to the west of which lies Daṇḍādri. We should note that in Sanskrit the words adri, acala, parvata, araṇya and giri mean the same thing, namely, a mountain or a hill. In fact, no distinction has yet been found to be observed in the use of these words by the ancient Indians, e.g., Śoṇācala is also called Śoṇagiri, Śoṇaparvata Śoṇeśa and Śoṇākhya, and such instances are not rare. Daṇḍādri might be an abbreviated or mutilated form of Daṇḍakādri and therefore might have been the same as Daṇḍakāraṇya, a forest which comprised all the hilly tracts from Bundlekhand to the river Kṛṣṇā (The Geography of Rāma's Exile, JRAS, 1894, p. 242). Anyway, Daṇḍādri was perhaps a spur of the Bundlekhand forests which lay on the west of the Kaimur range. Then it is stated that Bhāskaraparvata lay on the east of the Śoṇācala or the Kaimur range. The word Bhāskara means the sun, while the word Bhānu also means the same. Bhāskaraparvata was perhaps also popularly called Bhānuparvata. The modern Bhanner range of the Central Provinces may be a possible corruption of that Bhānuraparvata, and so the Bhāskaraparvata of the Purāṇa may be the same as the Bhanner range of the Central Provinces. But it has been misplaced. The range, a detached portion of the Vindhya hills, rising in the Jubbalpur district in the west of Kaimur, runs in close parallel and in the same direction with the Kaimur range for a distance of more than a hundred miles. The Bhanner range, therefore, lies in the west of the Kaimur range

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and not in the east as the Purāṇa tells us. The geographical knowledge of the author of the Purāṇa being more or less traditional rather than real, the position has been confused owing to the close proximity of these two parallel hills, and the Kaimur range which is really in the east of the Bhāskara or Bhanner range has been placed in the west of it. The Bhāskara and Daṇḍādri lie in the west of Śoṇācala. It has been stated several times that Amarācala lies in the south of Śoṇācala. Amarācala is also called Amarādri and Amarakaṇṭaka by the same Purāṇa. Kālidāsa (Megha, 1, 17) calls it Āmrakūṭa. All these surely mean the same hill, namely, the modern mount of Amarakaṇṭaka (a northern spur of the Mekala hills) on the northern side of which the Kaimur range is situated. Amarācala, therefore, lies in the south of Śoṇācala as is shown by the Purāṇa. So, the above ślokas identifies Śoṇācala with the Kaimur range.

There are further evidences. In i, 3, 6, 101, it is said that Agastyatīrtha lies in the south of Śoṇeśa. There are of course various Agastyatīrthas, i.e., places associated with Agastya, but, considering the established position of Śoṇācala, it is probable that Agastyatīrtha here means the tīrtha of the same name which lies on the Mahādeva hills (The Geography of Rāma's Exile, JRAS, p. 298) in the south of the Kaimur range. Agastyatīrtha, therefore, lies on the south of Śoṇeśa. It is said in i, 3, 6, 119-120 that Pāṇḍavatīrtha lies in the south of Śoṇācala. There is only one tīrtha of that name in the whole of India, to be found in Veṅkaṭācala which, as will be shown in connection with Aruṇācala, lies in the Madras Presidency in the north of Aruṇācala, and so, in the far south of Śoṇācala. So it seems that Pāṇḍavatīrtha lies in the south of Śoṇācala. All these evidences are, I think, sufficient to prove the identity of Śoṇācala with the Kaimur range of the Central Provinces, a hill which is quite different and widely separated from Aruṇācala.

Aruṇācala

There are distinct evidences that Aruṇācala belonged to the southern India. In Skandapurāṇa, canto iii, chapters 3 and 4, is related a story by way of introducing Aruṇācala, where it is said that one day Pārvatī out of conjugal dalliances pressed the eyes of Śiva from behind and as a consequence the whole world was deluged. So Pārvatī was distressed and ashamed. She went to Kāñcī

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to practise penance, where she was disturbed by the overflowing waters of the river Campā, when Mahādeva appeared on the scene and said among other things that a hill called Aruṇācala lies near by. Kāñcī is modern Conjeeveram, some 43 miles south-west of Madras, and the river Campā might be the river Palar, by which it is now situated. In the Padmapurāṇa (Uttar, ch. 70) it is said that Kāñcī was divided into two parts—Śivakāñcī on the west and Viṣṇukāñcī on the east. Kāñcī, therefore, had a strong Śaiva centre and it is reasonable to infer that Aruṇācala lay near about Kāñcī.

It is clearly said in the Purāṇa (i, 4, 4, 10, 11) that in southern India lies the country of Drāviḍa, a great Kṣetra called Aruṇākhya, a holy place for worshipping Śiva.

Asti Dakṣiṇadigbhāge Draviḍeṣu Tapodhana/
Aruṇākhyaṃ mahākṣetraṃ taruṇenduśikhāmaṇeḥ// 10
Yojanatrayavistīrṇam upāsyaṃ śivayogibhiḥ/
Tad bhūmer hṛdayaṃ viddhi Śivasya * * * *// 11

Draviḍa roughly corresponds to a country which is a part of the Deccan, from Madras to Sreenagapattam and Cape Comorin (JRAS, 1844, p. 15). Its capital was Kāñcīpura (Manu, ch. x and Daśakumara, ch. vi) or Conjeeverum. As has been said above, Kāñcī having in its western part a sacred place for the Śaivas, we are led to infer that the south-eastern spurs of the Vellore hills stretching up to western Conjeeverum was Aruṇācala. But there is one difficulty. For, regarding Aruṇācala, it is thus said in i, 4, 18, 22.

Dṛśyo 'yaṃ nātidūreṇa purastāt sakalāruṇaḥ/
Śṛṅgaiḥ saṃlakṣyate'ṣṭābhir nūnaṃ māhātmyavān giriḥ// 22

For the identification of Aruṇācala we are, therefore, to seek for a hill consisting of eight peaks. Now there is a hill called Trimatī-giri consisting of seven Śṛṅgas standing like a zigzag line six miles east of Tripati. This is a station of the S. M. Railway in Madras at a short distance in the south from the Renigunta junction of the same Railway line in the district of North Arcot. But this Trimatī Giri also cannot be identified with Aruṇācala, for the hill is the same as Veṅkaṭācala, and all the tīrthas and other sacred places of Veṅkaṭācala māhātmya of the Skandapurāṇa (ii, 1.) are to be found in the Trimatī Giri of seven Śṛṅgas. Moreover, we are often told that Aruṇācala was in Drāviḍadeśa (i, 4, 18, 21). If Drāviḍadeśa begins from Madras southwards, Trimatī Giri cannot properly lie in Draviḍa, for Trimatī occupies a place to the north-west of Madras, at a distance of seventy-two miles. We should also remember that in

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i, 3, 6, 125-127 (quoted above) the compiler has preserved the boundary of the two hills, though they have been applied in case of Śoṇācala only. It has been shown how there is no geographical similarity between the Ganges and the Yamunā on the one hand and the Skanda and Kumbha on the other. It has also been shown how the descriptions of the Ganges and the Yamunā are applicable with regard to Śoṇācala. It is, therefore, very reasonable to suppose that the other two rivers Kumbha and Skanda form the western and northern limits of Aruṇācala. The river Skanda or Kumāradhārā, as has been stated, flows by the side of Tiruttani which is some 40 miles south of Trimatī Giri. So if Trimatī Giri of seven peaks is Aruṇācala, the Skanda river cannot flow by its northern side, but flows along the southern side but this is not mentioned in the Purāṇa. So Aruṇācala cannot be identified with Trimatī Giri. But there is another hill which most probably can be identified. There is a station of the S. M. Railway called Tiruvannamalai some 90 miles south-west of Madras, and on the east of that station there is a range of hills still called Aruṇācala where a very old temple of Śiva and some liṅgas are to be found. This hill is still considered as a very sacred tīrtha of Śiva where piligrims flock. We have no other evidence to confirm the identification, except that the hill lies in Drāviḍadeśa, and that the boundary, as sketched out in i, 3, 6, 125-126, seems applicable in the case of this Aruṇācala. The river Skanda or Kumāradhārā flowing near Tiruttani clearly lies in the north of Aruṇācala and as such obviously formed the northern limit of the hill, while the river Kumbha rising from the Agastyakūṭa mountain of the Tinnevelly district probably flowed northwards, keeping Aruṇācala in the east, and as such the river formed the western limit of the hill concerned, though of course it must be admitted that the northern and western limits which are given by the compiler in no way form a precise and accurate boundary of Aruṇācala but only offer a very rough idea regarding the position of the hill.

SASHIBHUSAN CHAUDHURI

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The Date of Kaniṣka

It might seem presumptuous to take up the question of the date of Kaniṣka. Has not every thing pertaining to the query been ransacked by competent scholars? Yet the result so far has been disappointing. We are still out of court. Many entertain the fond hope that the excavator's spade will settle the puzzle finally. The present writer, however, ventures to think that there are a few astronomical data in the Taxila Silver Scroll Inscription of the year 136 and the Zeda Inscription of the year 11 of Kaniṣka which enable us to calculate with more or less precision the exact period during which the emperor flourished.

The portion containing the date in the Taxila Silver Scroll Inscription runs as follows: "*sa 1-100 20 10 4-1-1 ayasa Aṣaḍasa masasa divase 10-4-1.*" The meaning of the word ayasa has been the apple of discord among scholars. Sir John Marshall who first edited the record takes the word to be the genitive form of *Aya* (=Azes) and interprets the passage to mean "in the year 136 of Azes, on the 15th day of the month of Āṣāḍha." Prof. E. J. Rapson agrees so far, though he differs from him as regards the identification of the unnamed king in this scroll. Sir John Marshall considers that he is the same as Kujūla Kadphises (=Kūjula Kara Kadphises of the coins noticed by Sir Alexander Cunningham), while Prof. Rapson avers that he must be Vima Kadphises and that the inscription was engraved in the very last year of his reign, which he assumes to be 77-78 A.C., taking the year 136 to refer to the Vikrama era. All our leading authorities are agreed in referring the year 136 of the scroll to the Vikrama era, though it must be remembered that this is only conjectural. We shall return to this topic later on. But what does the curious word *ayasa* really stand for? Can it be a proper name? Our accumulated evidences obtained in the interpretation of numerous records negativate such a view. And even if it be the genitive of a proper name *Aya* (=Azes), that date can hardly be taken to refer to the era founded by Azes. Such an interpretation would rather tend to identify the unnamed *devaputra Khuṣana* with Azes himself. This, however, scarcely supports Sir John Marshall's contentions. On the other hand, we have the weighty opinion of Hofrat von Bühler who specifically warns us against

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this alternative rule, the intercalated month receives the name of Āṣāḍha. Readers will please note that we are not impugning the correctness of Dr. Van Wijk's calculations. We are only interpreting in an authorised manner the results of astronomical reckoning. Further, according to the civil mode of reckoning which regards the whole of the day in which a *saṃkrānti* ends as belonging to the month just over, the intercalated month in this case will be called intercalated Āṣāḍha. Moreover if anybody would perform the necessary calculations, he would find that even according to our present rules of intercalation, this month is intercalated Śrāvaṇa only because of a small fraction of a day and so in approximate calculations, it would be called intercalated Āṣāḍha. This demonstration is of great importance and warrants us to hold that the era used in the Taxila Silver Scroll is the Vikrama era. This is no longer a postulate, but stands on a solid basis. And we learn further that it was inscribed in the first year of the Śaka era. But Prof. E. J. Rapson would have us believe that the record was set up in the year just preceding the Śaka era (77-78 A.C,) and that the unnamed king must be Vima Kadphises. I do not know how Prof. Rapson concludes that 136 Vikrama is equivalent to 77-78 A.C. Even if the year be considered expired or current, or the scheme of months *pūrṇimānta* or *amānta*, 136 Vikrama can never be equivalent to 77-78 A.C., but it may be 78-79 A.C. or 79-80 A.C. Now that our records turns out to have been engraved in the first year of the Śaka era, I do not know if Prof. Rapson would still hold that the king referred to must be Vima Kadphises. Why not infer that here we have a reference to Kaniṣka? As a matter of fact all our evidence points that way.

The presence of the very curious word *devaputra* persuaded Sir John Marshall to conjecture that the unnamed king must be Kujūla Kadphises, as the title occurred in his coins. He never thought that he was Vima. But as it proved later on that there was a slight inadvertence on the part of Sir John, this identification loses much of its reason unless it can be proved that Kujūla and Kujūla Kara are the same. But this is debatable, and Prof. Rapson is opposed to such a view. The use of the curious designation *devaputra*, however, is remarkable. It is never used in the numerous coins of Vima Kadphises. So it is rather strange that he should receive this rare appellation. On the other hand, almost in all of Kaniṣka's inscriptions we have this curious designation. The presence of imperial titles, the uncommon title *devaputra*, and the haughty reticence dis-

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The Date of Kaniṣka

It might seem presumptuous to take up the question of the date of Kaniṣka. Has not every thing pertaining to the query been ransacked by competent scholars? Yet the result so far has been disappointing. We are still out of court. Many entertain the fond hope that the excavator's spade will settle the puzzle finally. The present writer, however, ventures to think that there are a few astronomical data in the Taxila Silver Scroll Inscription of the year 136 and the Zeda Inscription of the year 11 of Kaniṣka which enable us to calculate with more or less precision the exact period during which the emperor flourished.

The portion containing the date in the Taxila Silver Scroll Inscription runs as follows: "*sa 1-100 20 10 4-1-1 ayasa Aṣaḍasa masasa divase 10-4-1.*" The meaning of the word ayasa has been the apple of discord among scholars. Sir John Marshall who first edited the record takes the word to be the genitive form of *Aya* (= Azes) and interprets the passage to mean "in the year 136 of Azes, on the 15th day of the month of Āṣāḍha." Prof. E. J. Rapson agrees so far, though he differs from him as regards the identification of the unnamed king in this scroll. Sir John Marshall considers that he is the same as Kujūla Kadphises (= Kūjula Kara Kadphises of the coins noticed by Sir Alexander Cunningham), while Prof. Rapson avers that he must be Vima Kadphises and that the inscription was engraved in the very last year of his reign, which he assumes to be 77-78 A.C., taking the year 136 to refer to the Vikrama era. All our leading authorities are agreed in referring the year 136 of the scroll to the Vikrama era, though it must be remembered that this is only conjectural. We shall return to this topic later on. But what does the curious word *ayasa* really stand for? Can it be a proper name? Our accumulated evidences obtained in the interpretation of numerous records negativate such a view. And even if it be the genitive of a proper name *Aya* (= Azes), that date can hardly be taken to refer to the era founded by Azes. Such an interpretation would rather tend to identify the unnamed *devaputra Khuṣana* with Azes himself. This, however, scarcely supports Sir John Marshall's contentions. On the other hand, we have the weighty opinion of Hofrat von Bühler who specifically warns us against

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this alternative rule, the intercalated month receives the name of Āṣāḍha. Readers will please note that we are not impugning the correctness of Dr. Van Wijk's calculations. We are only interpreting in an authorised manner the results of astronomical reckoning. Further, according to the civil mode of reckoning which regards the whole of the day in which a *saṃkrānti* ends as belonging to the month just over, the intercalated month in this case will be called intercalated Āṣāḍha. Moreover if anybody would perform the necessary calculations, he would find that even according to our present rules of intercalation, this month is intercalated Śrāvaṇa only because of a small fraction of a day and so in approximate calculations, it would be called intercalated Āṣāḍha. This demonstration is of great importance and warrants us to hold that the era used in the Taxila Silver Scroll is the Vikrama era. This is no longer a postulate, but stands on a solid basis. And we learn further that it was inscribed in the first year of the Śaka era. But Prof. E. J. Rapson would have us believe that the record was set up in the year just preceding the Śaka era (77-78 A.C,) and that the unnamed king must be Vima Kadphises. I do not know how Prof. Rapson concludes that 136 Vikrama is equivalent to 77-78 A.C. Even if the year be considered expired or current, or the scheme of months *pūrṇimānta* or *amānta*, 136 Vikrama can never be equivalent to 77-78 A.C., but it may be 78-79 A.C. or 79-80 A.C. Now that our records turns out to have been engraved in the first year of the Śaka era, I do not know if Prof. Rapson would still hold that the king referred to must be Vima Kadphises. Why not infer that here we have a reference to Kaniṣka? As a matter of fact all our evidence points that way.

The presence of the very curious word *devaputra* persuaded Sir John Marshall to conjecture that the unnamed king must be Kujūla Kadphises, as the title occurred in his coins. He never thought that he was Vima. But as it proved later on that there was a slight inadvertence on the part of Sir John, this identification loses much of its reason unless it can be proved that Kujūla and Kujūla Kara are the same. But this is debatable, and Prof. Rapson is opposed to such a view. The use of the curious designation *devaputra*, however, is remarkable. It is never used in the numerous coins of Vima Kadphises. So it is rather strange that he should receive this rare appellation. On the other hand, almost in all of Kaniṣka's inscriptions we have this curious designation. The presence of imperial titles, the uncommon title *devaputra*, and the haughty reticence dis-

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played in omitting the personal name permit us to infer that the king referred to must be Kaniṣka himself. The Buddhist affinities of the record too support this inference. This assumption is further strengthened by the fact that the record was inscribed in the first year of the Śaka era. So it is likely that Kaniṣka started the Śaka era.

The Zeda Inscription, however, furnishes data which strongly supports the view that Kaniṣka founded the Śaka era. The date there runs as follows: *saṃ 10-1 aṣaḍasa masasa di 20 utaraphaguṇe Vema ḍasa Marijhakasa Kaniṣpa(ṣka)sa rajami.* There can be no doubt about the reading of the date. The characters are too precise to permit of any doubt on this point. So it tells us that "in the year 11 in the reign of Kaniṣka, on the 20th day of Āṣāḍha there was the Nakṣatra Uttaraphalgunī. Let us tentatively hold that the era used is the Śaka era, which on other grounds seem highly probable, and see how far this assumption satisfies the astronomical data furnished by this record. There cannot be any doubt that the month is lunar and the year Caitrādi. But the scheme of months adopted may be *pūrṇimānta* or *amānta* and the year may be expired or current. So we have to calculate for all these possibilities. But we shall, first of all, calculate for the possibility most likely. As the inscription is a northern one, the scheme of months used is most probably *pūrṇimānta* and the year expired. Now the 20th day of *pūrṇimānta Āṣāḍha* is equivalent to the 6th *tithi* of the white fortnight of the same month. So, finally we have, in view of these limitations (which are not in any way conjectural as may be perceived by anybody who is conversant with astronomical methods of calculation), the given date to be equal to: "in the year 89 A.C. (expired), on *Āṣāḍha Śukla* 6, there was *Uttaraphalgunī Nakṣatra.*" We shall see if our data harmonise. We proceed according to the method or calculation illustrated in the article 36 of L. D. Swamikannu Pillai's Indian Chronology (Madras, 1911).

Anomaly at new moon			
15·146+59·061	...	...	=74·207
Add for six *tithis*	...	...	5·91
			80·117

By table VIII the sun's longitude for *Nakṣatra* corresponding to 80 days of the solar year is	6·292
By table V the sun's long. for ·117 day is	·008
Add *tithi* equivalent in days	5·91
	12·210

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By table III, at 12·210 days of lunation space, the *Nakṣatra* current is the 12th, i.e. *Uttaraphalgunī*.

So we find that all the details fit in and it is not open to question that the era used in this inscription is the Śaka era. We can now maintain with tolerable certainty that the Śaka era has been used in the inscriptions of Kaniṣka, or in other words, that Kaniṣka started the Śaka era. Strictly speaking, we should not say this. Kaniṣka's inscriptional dates run from the year 3, so there is just the possibility that some body else might have started the era. But it is a mere possibility and that even a remote one. Moreover, Prof. Sten Konow comes to our rescue, for he tells us that: "the famous casket found in the Kaniṣka stūpa at Peshwar, is evidently dated *saṃ* 1 *ma*(*harajasa*) *Kaṇiṣkasa*." So according to him, the emperor's dates run from the year 1.

We utter a sigh of relief if the great puzzle has really been solved. Of course, there are other years near about for which the data are fit. But when an era, which, it seems very likely, everything considered, can explain all facts, it will be a mere craze for novelty to hunt for other probable years. That procedure will be irrational in the extreme and may shake the very foundations of Indian chronology built on similar astronomical grounds with so much care and skill by Fleet and Kielhorn.[1]

HARICHARAN GHOSH

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1 The writer owes much help in the preparation of this article to Mr. N. K. Majumder, M.A., Lecturer in Mathematics and Indian Astronomy of the Calcutta University.

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Some unpublished Persian Inscriptions from Kathiawad

About fifty years ago, the enlightened Bhavanagar State in Kathiawad took a leading part in organising an Archæological Department and collected materials from different places of Kathiawad. The epigraphical portion of the above collection chiefly consisted of impressions of very valuable Hindu and Muslim inscriptions. A few Hindu inscriptions selected from this collection were published by the State under the guidance of the late Diwan Vijeyshankar Ojha in two volumes namely "*Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions*" and "*Bhavanagar Prācīn Lekha-samgraha.*" The department did not lose sight of the Muslim inscriptions too, and consequently a third volume containing 51 selected Arabic and Persian inscriptions was published. This volume naturally contains some of the best Muslim inscriptions found in the ancient province of Kathiawad, which was under Muhammadan sway from very early times. The above volumes do not go, however, to cover the whole collection, and later researches have since added considerably to the number of unpublished records.

Muslim Inscriptions from Wadhwan

In the volume[1] of Persian and Arabic inscriptions referred to above there is no inscription from Wadhwan, or the ancient Vardhamāna[2] in the northern Kathiawad. It has a history of more than twelve centuries at its back and derives its old name from Vardhamāna Svāmin, the 24th Jaina Tīrthaṅkāra who was a historic personality believed to have flourished and composed in this place all his works which are so valuable for reconstructing the history of Gujarat.

The Muhammadan influence in Kathiawad[3] may be traced as early as the sixth century A.C., but it properly dates from the time of Alauddin (A.C. 1295—1315), reaching its zenith during the rule of the Sultans of Gujarat. And from the time of Ahmad Shah (to

1 Corpus Inscriptionum Bhavanagri (Arabic and Persian Inscriptions), 1889.

2 History of Important Towns and Cities in Gujarat and Kathiawad by Prof. A. S. Altekar, Ind. Ant., vol. LIV (1925), supplement, p. 38.

3 EMH., II, 120.

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whose rule falls the inscriptions under notice) a strong *thānā*[1] was always kept here.

Wadhwan is at present the capital of a second class state in Kathiawad under a Jhata chief growing in importance and developing modern ways. It lies 22°—45′ N. and 71°—42′ E., and is situated 83 miles S. W. of Ahmadabad with which it is connected by one of the many systems of Railways in Kathiawad.

These inscriptions are being edited from the mechanical estampages and with the help of somewhat approximate transcript copies written in the characters and style of the original inscriptions at Wadhwan. The impressions, belong to the Watson Museum at Rajkot, and have kindly been lent to me by the authorities.[2] I regret, however, to note that the reading of the text has become doubtful on account of the indistinctness and roughness of some of the impressions, due perhaps to the damaged condition of the original inscriptions.

No. 1. Inscription on Pada Mosque[3]

The impression suggests the inscription to have been cut in raised letters in a piece of stone and measures 2′ 3½″ × 1′ 2¼″. The inscription consists of five lines, written symmetrically, increasing in length from top to bottom, and written in Naskh characters. Lines 1, 2, 3 of the inscription and a part of the fourth line containing Islamic precepts and a part also at the end of the fourth line are in Arabic, while the rest

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1 For detailed description see Bombay Gazetteer, vol. viii, p. 69.

2 To Messrs. Vithal Dass J. Trivedi, M.A., LL.B., Hony. Secretary and D. B. Diskalkar, M.A., the Curator of the Watson Museum, Rajkot, I am indebted for the impressions and general information.

3 "This mosque is built near the *Bhoiraha*, where lie the remains of many old Jain temples and the site has also frequently yielded many Jain images. These temples are said to have originally been 500 in number and to have been founded by a Madhi Vaishya named Pajo. An image of Nemināth, the Jain Tīrthaṅkara, in one of the ruined temples bears an inscription dated Saṃvat 139, probably 1139=A.C. 1282, which mentions that it was installed by Ratandevi, wife of Vohara (Vaishya) Munjal, son of Vohra Deda, descendent of Seth Pajo of Modh Race, on the third of the light-half of Vaiśākha in the year noted above."—D. B. DISKALKAR.

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of the record is in Persian and refers to the construction of the mosque by one *Malik Muhammad* son of *Malik Musa* during the reign of Ahmad Shah in A.H. 842 (A.C. 1438). Ahmad Shah I (A.C. 1410—1443) is too well known in the history of Gujarat, but Malik Muhammad I could not trace so far, from the books at my disposal. He was presumably an officer at Wadhwan, for in those days the word *Malik* (noble or honourable) was a sort of title which superior officers generally adopted as a sign of distinction.

The text of the inscription as I read has been given at the end.

Translation

Line 1. There is no God but God ; Muhammad is the prophet of God.

Line 2. In the name of God, the merciful and the compassionate ;[1]

Line 3. "And verily the places of worship [are set apart] unto God, wherefore invoke not any (other therein) together with God."[2] The prophet (may the blessing and peace of God be on him) said : "He who built a mosque—

Line 4. For God (here) will have a palace built for him in paradise by God."[3] In the time of the reign (of the king) ; of the rank of Solomon, the defender of the world and faith ;

Line 5. The father of victory, Ahmad Shah, son of Muhammad Shah [Tatarkhan], son of the king Muzaffar Shah, the founder of the mosque *Malik Muhammad*, son of *Malik Musa*, may God grant him salvation: in the year two and forty and eight hundred (A.H. 842).

Inscription No. 2

This inscription, as the impression shows, is damaged on the right side and is consequently incomplete. In its present form it measures 2′ 6″ × 1′ 2″, while originally it must have been much longer and wider or it may have the concluding portion of the epigraph on another slab, fixed just below it, but now lost. The contents of the epigraph show that the record is unfinished since the date or the name of the writer or the engraver is not given in the piece. This

1 Quran, sipara X, Ruk'at 3.
2 Do. do. XI, do. 2.
3 *Hadith* from the Mishkat Sharif.

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view is corroborated further by the fact that an epigraph arranged so elegantly is not expected to be wanting in such an important detail as the date. The record consists of four lines, of which the two lines on top are shorter than the other two, and contain quotations from the Quran. Each of the two lower lines contains 3 couplets in Persian verse. The inscription is written throughout in Naskh characters. It records the construction of a mosque during the reign of Ahmad Shah by *Malik Thani*. No date is known from the record as it is incomplete. According to Mr. C. M. Duff's *Chronology of India*, the genealogy of the Sultans of Gujarat, which is based on the *Ferishta*, has two Sultans who ruled under the assumed name of "Ahmad". But in addition to the above, on the strength of numismatical evidence, Mr. H. N. Wright, I.C.S., has shown that Sultan Kootb Shah (A.C. 1451-1458) of Gujarat has also issued his coinage under the assumed name of "Ahmad" (vide *IMC*, vol. II., pp. 221-227). Or there were altogether three of the Sultans of Gujarat who have ruled under the title "Ahmad". Thus in the absence of the date in this inscription as well as of other data, it is difficult to assign this epigraph to the reign of the Sultan Ahmad, to whose reign this epigraph belongs. However, on comparing this inscription with the foregoing, I am inclined to assign it to the reign of Ahmad Shah I (A.C. 1410-1443), Sultan of Gujarat. Similarly Malik Thani of this inscription who bears an analogy of name to that of Malik Muhammad in inscription No. 1, may be taken to be one of the many officers or nobles of the court.

My reading of the text is as given at the end :

Translation

Line 1. In the name of God, the merciful and compassionate:

Line 2. And verily the places of worship (are set apart) unto God, wherefore invoke not any [other therein) together with God.

Line 3. (*i*) .....

(*ii*) Got arranged (completed) through the favour of the Lord.

(*i*) It is a noble place of worship and an eminent edifice.

(*ii*) The founder of the (mosque) was *Malik Thani*

(*i*) In the days of the king Ahmad Shah

(*ii*) The proprietor of the diadem and the royal throne.

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Line 4. (*i*) .....

(*ii*) .....(founder).

(*i*) Do (thou the) kindness (to step) inside the mosque.

(*ii*) One benediction (upon the soul of the deceased founder) is incumbent upon every true believer (follower of Islam).

(*i*) Oh God! The sin of such a one (the builder of mosque)

(*ii*) Lessen (discard) on the last day (the Day of Judgment).

Inscription No. 3

This impression from the inscription of a mosque is the best of the group under notice. The inscription is said to be still *in situ* and incised on a piece of stone available locally. The impression measures 2'-9" × 0'-11½" and is divided into three panels by ¾" wide strips left unchiselled on the face of the stone. Each panel carries a line of script written in simple *Tughra* devolved from the Naskh characters. The first line and a part of the second are in Arabic and contain quotations from the holy scriptures of Islam. The remaining portion in the record, except the date (which is again in Arabic), is in Persian. It mentions the construction of the mosque by Muhammad Shah or the well-known Muhammad Shah II (1443—1451 A.C.) of Gujarat in A. H. 849=1445 A.C. and the writing of the epigraph by one Barkat-ul-lah, son of Sulaiman.

The text as deciphered by me is given at the end.

Translation

Line 1. In the name of God, the merciful and compassionate. God, the most Illustrious, said! "And verily the places of worship [are set apart] unto God, wherefore invoke not any [other therein] together with God. The Prophet (may the blessing and peace of God be on him) said: He who built a mosque for God (here) will have by God.

Line 2. A palace built for him in paradise." Built this noble mosque for God, the king who is the greatest of all kings, the respected monarch, the redeemer of the world and faith, *Muhammad Shah*, son of Ahmad Shah, son of Muhammad Shah, son of the king Muzaffar Shah.

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Line 3. May God perpetuate his kingdom for ever and his wealth be (eternal and) imperishable. The writer (of the inscription), (is) the sinner Barkat-ul-lah, son of Sulaiman, the seeker of the forgiveness (of God, who is) the Commander, the Illustrious, and the Great in the year nine and forty and eight hundred (A. H. 849).

Inscription No. 4

The text of this inscription as given at the end of this note has been made out from the transcript copy in the absence of an estampage. The transcript copy, though made after the style of the original, is not faithful in all respects, and is therefore not reproduced. This is undoubtedly the surviving portion of an inscription, the upper part of which containing the usual religious quotations is gone. The existing portion records the name of the king as Mahmud Shah, in whose time the building, presumably a mosque may have been erected, and the date is the second Sunday of the eleventh month of A. H. 889=1484 A.C. The whole text is in Persian, except the date which is in Arabic, and is written in Naskh characters. This Mahmud Shah is the historic Mahmud Shah I (1458—1511 A.C.) of Gujarat and is also known as *Mahmud Begurra*[1] in the history of that country.

Translation

"Secure through the assistance of God, the munificent, the defender of the world and faith, the father of Victory, *Mahmud Shah*, son of Muhammad Shah, son of Ahmad Shah, son of Muhammad Shah, son of the king Muzaffar Shah, may God perpetuate his empire and dominion for ever, and may His favour and goodness pour perpetually on the people of the world—on the second day of *Zi-ul-qada* in the year nine and eighty and eight hundred (A. H. 889).

RAM SINGH SAKSENA

1 Briggs' Ferishta, vol. IV, pp. 77f.

Inscription No. 1

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بسم اللـه الرحمـن الرحيـم

۲ لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

۳ و ان المساجد للـه فلا تدعوا مـع اللـه احدا * و قال النبي صل الله عليه و سلم من بنى مسجدا

۴ نبى الله تعالى بنى اللـه له قصرا فى الجنـة - در عهد دولت سليمان جاه افضل السلاطيـن ناصر الدنيا و الدين -

۵ ابو الفتـح احمد شاه بن محمد شاه بن مظفر شاه السلطـان بانى مسجد ملك محمد بن ملك موسى غفر اللـه - فى سنـه اثنى و اربعيـن و ثمانمايه -

Inscription No. 2

۱ بسم اللـه الرحمـن الرحيـم *

۲ و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مـع الله احدا

(i) .....

(ii) شد مرتب بفضـل ربـانى

(i) معبد خاص است و بيت شريف

(ii) بود باني اين ملك ثـاني

(i) اندر ايـام شـاه احمد شـاه

(ii) مالك تاج و تخت سلطـاني

(i) .....

(ii) ..... باني

(i) مهرباني كن اندر اين مسجد

(ii) يك دعـا لازم از مسلمـاني

(i) يا الـهى گنـاه آنكس را

(ii) در قيـامت خفيف گردانى

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Inscription No. 3

١ بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم - قال الله الجليل - و ان المساجد
لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا - قال النبى - صلى الله عليه وسلم -
من نبى المسجد لله نبى الله له -

٢ قصرا فى الجنة - بنا لله المسجد الشريفة هذا السلطان
الاعظم المعظم غياث الدنيا و الدين محمد شاه بن احمد شاه
بن محمد شاه بن مظفر شاه السلطان -

٣ خلد الله ملكه و دولته لا يزال - الكاتب المذنب بركت الله
بن سلمان طالبا لغفران و لامر جليل الاكبر - فى السنة تسعة و
اربعين و ثمانمائه -

الواثق بالله المنان ناصر الدنيا و الدين ابو الفتح محمود
شاه بن محمد شاه بن احمد شاه بن محمد شاه بن بظفر شاه
السلطان خلد الله تعالى ملكه و سلطانه - و افاض على العلمين
بره و احسانه - فى يوم الاحد ثانى شهر ذى القعده سنه تسع
و ثمانين و ثمان مائه -

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MISCELLANY

Dr. Walleser on the meaning of Pāli

In the valuable series of *Materialien zur Kunde des Buddhismus* an important question is raised by the editor, Dr. Walleser, in No. 4, *Sprache und Heimat des Pali-Kanons*. This pamphlet of twenty-four pages is not merely on the language and home of the Pāli canon, but hidden beneath the title is an important discussion on the meaning of the word *Pāli*. This ought not to be over-looked, and I should like to draw attention to the arguments and conclusions. There is much in the pamphlet which seems to me sound, but on this particular point I am not convinced, and I should be glad to see further evidence from either side.

Dr. Walleser rejects the view of Childers that *Pāli* means 'series of texts' and hence the body of the Buddhist Canon. There is no doubt of the existence of the word with the meaning 'series, row, or line' both in Sanskrit and Pāli. Buddhaghosa uses it to denote a line to mark a boundary (Vin., A., ii, 344). But Dr. Walleser points out that there is a spelling in Ceylon MSS. with cerebral *ḷ*, which makes this derivation highly improbable, and he holds that it is more likely that it is an expression which comes straight from the native commentaries. He further holds that the term refers properly not to the texts as such, but to the language in which they are composed as opposed to the language of the Singhalese Aṭṭhakathās. But what was the language of these commentaries? The language of the Canon which in Asoka's reign was taken to Ceylon was, he thinks (against Oldenberg, Franke, Grierson, etc.), the language of Magadha. But at this time the Aryan colonisation of Ceylon was complete, so that Mahinda must have found an independent Singhalese language there when he arrived. This language was a Prakrit which had reached Ceylon not from Magadha but from the S.E. coast of India. Now the commentary which was used in Ceylon when the Canon was first introduced must have been in Singhalese (so he argues), otherwise it would have failed of its purpose.

The word *Pāli* then was adopted from the native commentaries, and as they were in a Prakrit which omitted intervocalic consonants, there is no objection to assuming that *Pāli* goes back through a form *pāali* to *pāṭali*. But this word is the first part of the name of Pāṭali-

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putra, the very city where the Bhikkhus assembled soon after the death of Buddha[1], and which for a long time was the centre of Buddhist life. We know in fact that the *ṭ* did disappear in this name, as the form Palibothra proves.

He next assumes that the first part of the name Pāṭali-putra came to be taken as an adjective, so that there is no objection to assuming that the language of Pāṭali-putra (or -pura) was called *pāṭalī bhāsā* or simply *pāṭalī*. He then dicusses the phonetic changes which would result in the word becoming *pāli*, (1) shortening of the final vowel, (2) dropping of intervocalic *ṭ* with contraction, (3) cerebralising of *l*. Having thus explained *pāli* he finds in *peyyālaṃ* the corresponding adjective, assuming that it comes from a form *pāṭāla* with double vṛddhi.

He then goes further and discusses the term *dhammapaliyāyāni* in Asoka's Bhabra inscription. This is the term that Asoka uses to describe certain passages or sections of the Dhamma, which he there enumerates. It is generally assumed to be identical (except in gender) with the Pāli *dhammapariyāya* and Sanskrit *dharmaparyāya*, but Dr. Walleser ignores these, and derives Asoka's term from *pāṭalikāyāni* with the meaning 'texts belonging to the Pāṭali Canon'.

I trust that this fairly represents Dr. Walleser's conclusions, though all his arguments have not been reproduced. So far as I can see he has not produced any evidence to show that *pāli* is ever used in the commentaries to indicate a language. Childers speaks of pāli-bhāsā, but ne expressly explains that it does not mean 'the Pāli language' but merely 'the language of the sacred texts'. This Dr. Walleser contradicts, and says that when Pāli and *Aṭṭhakathā* are contrasted, the reference is only to the actual words (Wortlaut) of the commented texts, not to their connection as a whole (Schriftganz), and he declares that the examples given by Childers prove it. But Childers thought that these examples prove the exact opposite. We need not go through those given by Childers, as without their context they often do not prove anything, and we can now find plenty of examples in the published text of the commentaries, but Dr. Walleser does not quote a single one, even from Childers. I will not give quotations to show

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1 That is what Dr. Walleser says, "den Namen gerade derjenigen Stadt wo die Bhikkhu bald nach dem Tode des Buddha sich vereinigten." But was it really soon after the death of Buddha that the bhikkhus had their first meeting there?

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that the term is commonly used to refer exactly to the sacred text. What we want is at least a single example to show that the commentator was contrasting the Pāli language with some other. It is likely enough that the Theras, with whom Childers conversed, spoke of the *pālibhāsā*, but no one ever seems to have found this term in any document. Dr. Walleser has nothing to say about the word *pāli* in the sense of 'line' or 'series,' yet it exists, and when Buddhaghosa on one page uses it to mean a line drawn on the ground and a little further on to mean the line or series of texts, we want some evidence to believe that he is using two quite different words. What does the spelling with cerebral ḷ prove? If it can be shown that this spelling is the original one, then there is the likelihood that the word really came from the early Prakrit of Ceylon, and was later confused with the Pāli word meaning 'line.' But so far no attempt has been made to prove it. Let us have some evidence one way or the other, and we shall be all the better able to do justice to the other matters in this important essay.

EDWARD J. THOMAS

Yogāvatāropadeśa

In JASB, 1928, pp. 249-259, Mr. Durgacharan Chatterji has published a small treatise on Yoga, Yogāvatāropadeśa, by Dharmendra in its Tibetan version with a Sanskrit restoration and English translation by himself. It is quite clear that he did not find the original Sanskrit of the work, taking it to have been lost, as is the case of hundreds of books now preserved in Tibetan and Chinese translations, for the originals of which we have almost given up hope. He will, however, be glad to know that the present case is not such. The original of the work is still in existence, and it is found in a Nepalese MS noticed by Mahāmahopādhyāya Hara Prasad Sastri in his *Catalogue of Palm-leaf and Selected Paper MSS belonging to the Durbar Library, Nepal*, vol. ii, 1915, p. 64, the number being III, 373C. It is named there Prajñopāyaviniścayasiddhi by Anaṅgavajrapāda. Yet it begins in fact with the metrical portion (i.e., nine kārikās) of the Yogāvatāropadeśa, which is simply known to us as Yogāvatāra. In its colophon in the MS, too, it is written Yogāvatāra (*Yogāratāraḥ samāptaḥ*).

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But here it is attributed to N ā g ā r j u n a (*Kṛtir iyam ārya-Nāgārjunapādānām*), and not to D i ṅ n ā g a as in the Tibetan version.

It is interesting to compare the Sanskrit restoration of Mr. Chatterji with the original now found. It will be seen that except in a very few instances, the restoration which is not perfectly free from defects is quite in agreement with the original, even the wording in most cases being almost the same. The text as given by Mm. Hara Prasad Sāstri in the catalogue referred to is reproduced below together with Mr. Chatterji's restoration, so that the comparison may easily be made. In judging the restoration it should be borne in mind that the Tibetan versions from which the restoration is made are not in complete agreement with the particular Sanskrit text given below, and this fact explains to a large extent the descrepancies between the restoration and the original. I may remark in passing that the Sanskrit text before us contains some wrong readings and is not free from metrical and other errors, and in one case (kārikā 7) a line has dropped off.

The Original Sanskrit.	Mr. Chatterji's restoration.
1	1
śrutvā śāstram udāraṃ niścitya pāramārthikaṃ tattvam/ mṛdvāsanopaviṣṭaḥ suśrāddho yogam ārabhate//	śāstraṃ prathitaṃ śrutvā niścityāpi paramārthatattvāni/ śraddhāyutaḥ prājño yogaṃ mṛdvāsane yuñjyāt//
2	2
grāhyagrāhakam ubhayaṃ nobhayamandameṣa nivṛttiḥ (?)[1] svargaḥ/ iti bahuvidhavikalpajālaṃ pravidhūya manaḥsamādhānaiḥ//	saṃsāro nirvāṇaṃ svaparau dvayam advayaṃ tathā grāhyam/ grāhaka iti ca vikalpāṃs tyaktvā cittaṃ samāpannam//
3	3
jñeyaṃ vilokya sakalaṃ māyā- gandharvanagaranirbhāsam/ pravidārya dehayantraṃ tathatā- vijñānavajreṇa//	māyāgandharvanagarasadṛśaṃ jñeyaṃ vilokya niḥśeṣam/ tathatājñānāśaninā śarīrayantraṃ parīkṣeta[2]//

1 Read : *nobhayam ātmaiṣa nirvṛtiḥ* for *no° nirvṛttiḥ* (?).

2 Tib. *gzig par bya* may be translated by *parīkṣeta*, but in the present case it cannot be accepted. One might read here *prabhaṅktavyam* for it.

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The Original Sanskrit.	Mr. Chatterji's restoration.
4	4
sarvākāravirājitam ādyantavibhāgarahitam avikalpam/ nirmalasahasradīdhiti- nirbhinnamatisaraṃ[1] gaganam iva//	adyantāṃśarahitam avikalpaṃ sarvaprakāravaraśobham/ vimalamarīcisahasrair apākṛta- tamisragaganasaṃkāśam//
5	5
svākāramātraśeṣaṃ paśyati cittaṃ svam ādyanutpannam/ yenapi paśyatīdaṃ tad api tathaivāvalokayati//	svābhāsamātrarūpaṃ paśyet prathamād ajaṃ svacittaṃ ca/ yena ca dṛśyata etad draṣṭavyaṃ tad api tathaiva//
6	6
so'nupalambho'cintyatathatoktā bhūtakoṭiś ca evam/ kramaśo'bhyāsāt saṃjñāvedita- nirodham āpnoti//	kathitam anālambaṃ cittam eva tathatā ca bhūtakoṭiś ca/ īdṛkkramaśikṣātaḥ[3] saṃjñāvedita- nirodhalābhaḥ syāt//
7	7
• • • • • • •[2]/ abhiyukto yogī sattvārtham anekadhā kurute'smin//	tasmin samyak sparśāt pañcābhi- jñā bhavanty anāyāsam/ tadabhivyakto[4] yogī jagadarthaṃ sādhayaty apari- meyam//
8	8
parinişpanne[5] tiṣṭhati yogī sudīrgham adhvānam/ vajravad abhedyakāyo niṣkrampa[6] kleśamārādyaiḥ//	parisampanno yogī tiṣṭhati kālaṃ sudhīrghm apy eṣaḥ/ tanur aśanir ivāśithilā niśceṣṭāḥ kleśamārādyāḥ//

1 For °*matisaram* read °*tamisra*.
2 Printed °*śikṣāto*. 3 The first half of the kārikā is missing.
4 This should have been *abhiyuktaḥ* (*mṅon par ldam*).
5 Read *parinişpannaḥ*.
6 Read *niṣkampyaḥ* as suggested by Tib. *gyo mi hgyur*. The restoration of the last line should be corrected accordingly.

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The Original Sanskrit.	Mr. Chatterji's restoration.
9	9
prajñāpāramitākhye'smin[1] sarvadā pravṛttasya/	prajñāpāramitāyā ete yogāḥ sadā samutkṛṣṭāḥ/[2]
sidhyanty anye bahavaḥ	bahavo hi gaganagañjādyāḥ
samādhayo gaganagañjādyā [ḥ]//	sampannāḥ samādhayaḥ santi//

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

Pandyakavata

In the Rāmāyaṇa, ed. Gorresio, IV, 41, we read of the southern way which the apes under Hanumat's leadership are to go to look for Sītā; v, 21ff. enumerate the localities which this part of Sugrīva's army, ordered into the South, may touch: Agastya's abode on the Malaya, the Kāverī:

kānteva kṛtasaṅketā samudram abhidhāvati /
tato hemamayaṃ divyaṃ toraṇaṃ maṇibhūṣitaṃ // 24
kapāṭaguptaṃ Pāṇḍyānāṃ gatā drakṣyatha vānarāḥ /
tām atikramya Kāverīm āvṛtya Malayaṃ girim // 25
puṣpīm iva kṛtāṃ mālāṃ velāṃ drakṣyatha vānarāḥ /
maryādāṃ tāṃ samudrasya velāṃ gatvā yaśasvinīm // 26
sacandanavanāṃ ramyāṃ vicinvantu vanaukasaḥ /

It seems, however, out of place to touch first the Kāverī (24a), then a toraṇa (24b), again to cross the Kāverī (25b) which bars the Malaya (āvṛtya) and then first to see the coast (26a). I suppose that the order of the verses is here in some confusion as is indicated already by mentioning the Kāverī and the Malaya in v, 21, the crossing of the former in v, 23a; further the tām of v. 25b would be more natural in close connexion with v, 24a, so that we had to insert 25b after 24a, unless we take it to be an interpolation. Further proofs for such an alteration are found in the reading of the corresponding passage in IV, 41, 17 (Bomb. ed.), where the Tāmraparṇī appears as the Mahānadī, so that after Kāverī and Agastya's abode on the

1 Add here *yoge* as suggested by Tib. and wanted metrically.
2 The first half of the kārikā is defective.

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Malaya follows the river Tāmraparṇī and hereafter, touching the toraṇa, the apes reach the coast. The text of IV, 41. 18f. (Bomb. ed.) runs as follows:

kānteva yuvatī kāntaṃ samudram avagāhate /
tato hemamayaṃ divyaṃ muktāmaṇivibhūṣitam // 18
yuktaṃ kavāṭaṃ Pāṇḍyānāṃ gatā drakṣyatha vānarāḥ /
tataḥ samudram āsādya sampradhāryārthaniścayam // 19

In both the recensions occurs a kapāṭaṃ, resp. kavāṭaṃ,[1] Pāṇḍyānām between Tāmraparṇī, as has to be read instead of Kāverī, and the ocean. The metaphorical language of the edition of Gorresio calls that locality a toraṇa, the Commentary on IV, 41, 19 (Bomb. ed.) explains yuktam as puraprākāraghaṭitam ; in the edition of Gorresio the toraṇa "is guarded by the gatewings of the Pāṇḍyas." But all that is not quite clear ; fortunately we meet the term "toraṇa" in other works, and what is most interesting, also in the Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra, II, 10, 29—kośapraveśyaratnaparīkṣā, as the second of finding-places of pearls under the adjective-form Pāṇḍyakavāṭaka, explained by Bhaṭṭasvāmin (Sorabji's extracts, p. 17 ; JBORS, XI, 1925, p. 28 of the appendix in Part II) with Malayakoṭiparvatotpannam ; that would mean that Pāṇḍyakavāṭa has to be identified with the mountain Malayakoṭi; but that is doubtful from other reasons which I do not want to discuss here.[2] Another work, Varāhamihira's Bṛhatsaṃhitā, 81, 2 mentions eight finding-places of pearls, among them Pāṇḍyavāṭaka pearls, the peculiarities of which are described in 81,6 ; from this verse we learn that the locality bears the name Pāṇḍyavāṭa, and therefore we have to separate Pāṇḍyakavāṭa of the Arthaśāstra in Pāṇḍyaka-vāṭa.[3]

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1 Identical with kapāṭa, see P. W., s.vv.; Hemacandra, Abhidh., 1007 has (erroneously ?) kuvāṭa; cf. Scholion ; Uṇādiganas. 148; Amarakośa, II, 2,17 with Comm.

2 According to Surendranath Majumdar Sastri, the editor of Cunningham's Ancient Geography, Calcutta, 1924, p. 740, Pāṇḍyakavāṭa corresponds to the Kavāṭapuram of Tamil literature; I hesitate to accept this, because the learned author himself declares Pāṇḍyakavāṭa to be a "promontory where the W. Ghats dip into the sea."

3 -vāṭa as suffix in geographical names occurs for instance in the inscription of Śaka 1291 = 1369 A.D. (Ep. Ind., XIV. pp. 88f.): Carakuvāṭaka, modern Cerukuvāṭa ; Kuravāṭa, Tamaravāṭaka, modern Tāmarāḍa.

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A juxtaposition of Bṛhats, 81,2 with verse 75 of Buddhabhaṭṭa's Ratnaparīkṣā (ed. Finot, Bibliothèque de l' E´cole des Hautes E´tudes, fasc. iii) shows that both are nearly identical; as Finot maintains (Introd., pp. VII-IX), both borrowed from a common source, which is mentioned by Buddhabhaṭṭa, a lost Ratnaśāstra; only metri causa we have in the Ratnaparīkṣā Kauberavāṭa, which certainly represents a Kaubera-Pāṇḍyavāṭa, as tāmra is a shortened form for Tāmraparṇī; further proof is found in the Garuḍapurāṇa (adhy. 69, text in Finot's book, p. 212; transl. by Dutt, p. 189) which reads Kauberapāṇḍyahāṭaka, probably a misreading for °vāṭaka and thus agreeing with Bṛhats. From these passages[1] we learn that Pāṇḍya-kavāṭa was a well-known finding-place of pearls, to which fact the Rāmāyaṇa already alluded. But how to explain the form "kapāṭa of the Pāṇḍyas"?

Mahābhārata, v, 48, 71ff. racounts, in incorrect upajāti-metre, Kṛṣṇa's deeds and we read v, 76:

ayaṃ kapāṭena jaghāna Pāṇḍyaṃ
tathā Kaliṅgān Dantakūre mamarda/

The reading of this pāda was not quite clear; Nīlakaṇṭha, who explains kapāṭena by vakṣastaṭāghātena, cites "any"e (others) who read: kapāṭe nijaghāna and explain kapāṭe as nagare, that is the name of a city like Dantakūra[2]; those "anye" are, as we see, the commentators Arjunamiśra (kapāṭe nagare) and Sarvajñanārāyaṇa (kapāṭe nagarabhede); cf. Udyoga Parvan, ed. Mahadeva Gangadhar Bhatta Bakre, Bombay, 1920; see also P. Ch. Roy's translation, v, p. 174, n.*.

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1 For the convenience of the reader the texts may be reproduced here; Bṛhatsaṃhitā, 81,2:

Siṃhalapāralaukikasaurāṣṭrakatāmraparṇipāraśavāḥ/
Kauberapāṇḍyavāṭakahaimā ity ākarā hy aṣṭau//

Buddhabhaṭṭa, Ratnaparīkṣā, 75:

Siṃhalapāralaukikasaurāṣṭrikatāmrapauṇḍrāḥ/
Kauveravāṭahaimāsu śuktyudbhūtākarā hy aṣṭau//

Garuḍapurāṇa, i:

Saiṃhalikapāralaukikasaurāṣṭrikatāmraparṇapāraśavāḥ/
Kauberapāṇḍyahāṭakahemakā ity ākarās tv aṣṭau//

2 Nīlakaṇṭha, however, explains this name as saṃgrāme, cf. especially his remark on Mahābhārata, v, 23, 24, where the killing of the Pāṇḍya king is not mentioned.

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That explanation of kapāṭa as a city is based only on the conformity with Dantakūra, the city of the Kaliṅgas ; but another passage of the Mbh. (VII, 23, 69) tells something more of that deed of Kṛṣṇa :

Keśavena hate saṃkhye pitary atha narādhipe/
bhinne kapāṭe Pāṇḍyānāṃ vidruteṣu ca bandhuṣu// (Cal. ed.)

The son of this deceased king has once been trying to destroy Dvārakā, but failed, and now he is on the side of the Pāṇḍavas, to whom he brought an army (cf. V, 19, 9; VII, 23, 70-73). Here, however, Nīlakaṇṭha explains kapāṭe as nagaviśeṣe, which can mean only a mountain, quite in accordance with the passage from the Rāmāyaṇa, Arthaśāstra, Bṛhatsaṃhitā, etc.; but it is not impossible that owing to a misprint we have to read nagaraviśeṣe also here.

Now, if we adopt the correct form Pāṇḍyaka-vāṭa, we learn from these Mbh.-passages that by a misunderstanding of the geographical name the rhapsodists of the Kṛṣṇa-Epic invented a new deed of their hero; that it is not probable to assume the inverse way is shown by the fact that neither the Viṣṇupurāṇa nor the Bhāgavata nor the Harivaṃśa knows such an event. Kapāṭa is also hardly a fit name for a town. More intelligible would be a Kṛṣṇa-story of killing a king by a gate-wing, but, as already stated, the separation of the compound in Pāṇḍya-kapāṭa is wrong. Yet for a moment we must return to the relation existing between the Epic, Bṛhatsaṃhitā and Arthaśāstra. The latter two show a noteworthy discrepancy as well in the number as in the name of the finding-places.

Bṛhatsaṃhitā, 81, 2:	Arthaśāstra:
1 Siṃhala	1 Tāmraparṇika
2 Pāralaukika	2 Pāṇḍyakavāṭaka
3 Saurāṣṭrika	3 Pāśikeya
4 Tāmraparṇī	4 Kauleya
5 Pāraśava	5 Caurṇeya
6 Kaubera	6 Mahendra
7 Pāṇḍyavāṭaka	7 Kārdamika
8 Haima	8 Srautasīya
	9 Hrādīya
	10 Haimavata

We must conclude that the Arthaśāstra borrowed its list from a Ratnaśāstra other than that of Varāhamihira and Buddhabhaṭṭa ; only in three places both lists agree. Quite unsatisfactory would be a mechanical deduction that the longer list in the Arthaśāstra is a

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sign of later date; nevertheless, the names of places, quite different from those of the Bṛhatsaṃhitā, etc., show a much more intimate knowledge of localities, especially of the South, a knowledge we can hardly ascribe to an earlier period of the penetration of India's South by North Indian imperialism or to a minister of Candragupta, except we assume the origin of the Arthaśāstra in the South. Further, the treatment of special sciences of precious stones in the Kauṭilīya, compared with the known texts on these topics, indicate a progress too. On the other hand, geographical data in general in Indian literature, must be considered from the standpoint of history; I cannot therefore understand the opinion of J. J. Meyer (German translation of the Arthaśāstra, Introd., p. xlvi), who denied the value of historical geography for research in Indian literary history; how could that be true, how could one argue in such a way, considering, for instance, only the Brāhmaṇas and the Mahābhārata, not to mention such special treatises as the Bṛhatsaṃhitā? And now we find such a term, as that considered here, in the Rāmāyaṇa in a part which Jacobi (Das Rāmāyaṇa, Introd., pp. 37ff.; but cf. L é v i, Journal Asiatique, s. 11. t, XI, 1918, pp. 13, 148ff.) declared as spurious; further, we see the misunderstanding of that name Pāṇḍyakavāṭa in the Mahābhārata, the construction of a deed of Kṛṣṇa, unknown to his principal "biographies." I should not hesitate to deduce from this that the allusion in the Mahābhārata is a late interpretation of a South-Indian rhapsodist, to whom the original meaning was already unknown as to Nīlakaṇṭha,[1] etc., while the mentioning of Pāṇḍyakavāṭa in the list of the Arthaśāstra, as other geographical data, would lead us to the conclusion that this list cannot be of an earlier date than the 6th century A.D.

O. STEIN

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1 Karṇa, in the course of his digvijaya (Mahābhārata, III, 254) comes also to the South and here he meets Rukmiṇa who submits to Karṇa, offers to him gold and goes with him to the Pāṇḍyaṃ śailam (254, 14); Nīlakaṇṭha explains: Śrīśailam, but this mount cannot be the Śrīśaila or Śrīparvata 50 miles south of the Kṛṣṇā (cf. Pargiter, Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa, transl., p. 290 n.; Beal, The Life of Hiuen-Tsiang, Introd., p. xvi; Watters, On Yuan Chwang's Travels, II, p. 208; Kielhorn, Ep. Ind., IV, p. 195) 78°53′ L., 16°5′B., while they touch on their further way the country of Kerala; perhaps that Pāṇḍya śaila is the Pāṇḍyakavāṭa mount.

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Misconceptions about some Terms in Mīmāṃsā Literature

A good deal of misconception exists even among scholars as to the true meaning of the three technical terms of Mīmāṃsā, viz., *Vidhi Niyama* and *Parisaṃkhyā*. Dr. Keith, one of the most acute of European Orientalists, for instance, writes on page 93 of his Karma-mīmāṃsā (Heritage of India Series): An injunction of limitation or exclusion (*parisaṃkhyā vidhi*) precludes *one* of several alternatives which otherwise might be resorted to; thus the injunction, five animals among animals with five nails may be eaten *precludes the eating of any animals not having that adornment.* (The italics are mine). The above passage contains many inaccurate and misleading statements. In the first place, a *parisaṃkhyā* does not preclude *one* of several alternatives but *all but one* of several alternatives. Secondly, the injunction *pañca pañcanakhā bhakṣyāḥ* does not preclude the eating of any animals not having that adornment; on the contrary, it precludes the eating of all animals *with* that adornment except the five viz. śaśaka, śallakī, godhā etc.

Again on page 98 we find: "The distinction between injunction proper and a restrictive injunction (*niyama*) is applied in the sense that the latter is reduced to nothing more than a maxim or rule, which ought to be regarded, but which, if violated, does not render the action affected invalid; thus Manu's rule as to marrying an amiable and healthy girl is not an injunction, the violation of which renders the marriage void, but a counsel of prudence."

Here also the learned Professor is wrong. In the first place, Mīmāṃsakas and Smārtas hold what is also clear from the very name *niyama*, that no *niyama* can be violated with impunity. In the case of the stock examples of *niyama* viz. *vrīhīn avahanti* and *same deśe yajeta*, the sacrifices will of course be invalid if the grains are not pounded or the sacrifice is performed on uneven ground. It is quite clear that the learned scholar has confused *niyama* with *parisaṃkhyā*.

Secondly, Manu's advice as to marriage quoted here (Manu, ix. 94) can hardly be regarded as a *niyama*. It is given by Manu as a "counsel of prudence." Had it been a *niyama* it could not have been merely a counsel of prudence. Kulluka Bhaṭṭa distinctly says: *etac ca yogyakālapradarśanaparam, na tu niyamārtham, prāyeṇaitāvata kālenā gṛhītavedo bhavati, tribhāgavayaskā ca kanyā voḍhur yūno yogyeti*, i.e., it simply aims at showing the proper time,

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but does not impose any *niyama*, for generally by this time (i.e. by the time that one attains the age of thirty or twenty-four) a man has mastered the Vedas and should marry a girl who is one-third as old as he.

Similarly, Medhātithi also says: *iyatā kālena yavīyasī kanyā yogyā, na punar etāvadvayasa eva vivāha ity upadeśārthaḥ*, i.e., the purport of the counsel is that a girl younger by so many years is fit for marriage and not that a girl of so many years of age alone has to be married.

We shall now set forth clearly the distinction between *vidhi, niyama* and *parisaṃkhyā*, or, in other words, *apūrvavidhi, niyama-vidhi* and *parisaṃkhyā vidhi*. In the Tantravārttika we read:

vidhiratyantam aprāpte, niyamaḥ pākṣike sati|
tatra cānyatra ca prāpte parisaṃkhyeti gīyate||

i.e. that which enjoins something not at all known from other sources is an *apūrva vidhi* or simply a *vidhi*, as, *vrīhīn prokṣati*. This injunction viz. 'the grains are to be washed' is found in the section dealing with Darśa-Pūrṇamāsa sacrifices. But for this injunction the washing of the grains in the Darśa-Purṇamāsa sacrifices would not have been known; it is the presence of this injunction which tells us for the first and last time that the grains intended for the Darśa-Pūrṇamāsa sacrifices are to be thoroughly sprinkled with water. Hence it is an *apurva vidhi* or vidhi proper. As the Mīmāṃsā paribhāṣā puts it—*tatra yo vidhir atyantāprāptam arthaṃ prāpayati saḥ apūrva vidhiḥ, yathā vrīhīn prokṣati iti. etadvidhyabhāve darśapūrṇamāsīyavrīhiṣu prokṣaṇaṃ katham api na prapnoti*: *tadvidhisattve tu tatsambandhivrīhiṣu prokṣaṇaṃ prāpnoty eva atyantāprāptaprokṣaṇaprāpakatvād ayam apūrvavidhiḥ.*

That which restricts us to one of two or more possible alternatives competing for the mastery is known as *niyamavidhiḥ* e.g. *vrīhīn avahanti* i.e. he pounds the grains. Now what is wanted here is clearly the separation of the chaff from the grains for the purpose of the sacrifice. This can be brought about in three ways: (1) by *avaghāta* i.e. by pounding, (2) by *mardana* i.e. by rubbing together or threshing, and (3) by *nakhavidalana* i.e. by peeling off with nails. In this case any one of these three means is sufficient to bring about the husking but not more than one at the same time. The injunction *vrīhīn avahanti* therefore restricts us to *avaghāta* or pounding alone. Hence it is a *niyama* or *niyama-vidhi*. Or, take another example *same deśe yajeta*. The injunction *darśapūrṇamāsābhyāṃ yajeta* prescribes

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the Darśa-Pūrṇamāsa sacrifice as one that ought to be performed and as no sacrifice can be performed without a plot of land, the injunction presupposes some land i.e. the ground on which the sacrifice is to be performed is implied. Now the place of sacrifice may be of two kinds even and uneven. When the sacrificer wishes to perform the sacrifices on a smooth plot, then the injunction "sacrifice should be performed on level ground" remains indifferent i.e. has no application, for what it prescribes has already been followed. When, however, he wants to perform the sacrifice on uneven ground then the injunction "sacrifice should be performed on level ground" has its scope, for what it prescribes has not yet been followed. The exclusion of 'uneven ground' is by implication, for by the performance of sacrifice on the ground prescribed, if we have recourse to a kind of ground which is not prescribed the sacrifice performed thereon will not be according to the Śāstra or injunctions. As the Mitākṣarā puts it: pakṣe prāptasyāprāptapakṣāntaraprāpaṇaṃ niyamaḥ, yathā 'same deśe yajeta.' 'Darśapurṇamāsābhyāṃ yajeta' iti yāgaḥ kartavyatayā vihitaḥ. Sa ca deśam antareṇa kartum aśakya ity arthād deśaḥ prāptaḥ. Sa ca dvividhaḥ—samo viṣamaś ca. Yadā yajamānaḥ same yiyakṣate tadā 'same yajeta' iti vacanam udāste, svārthasya prāptatvād; yadā tu viṣame deśe yiyakṣate tadā 'same yajeta' iti svārthaṃ vidhatte, svārthasya tadānīm aprāptatvāt; viṣamadeśanivṛttis tv ārthikī. Coditadeśenaiva yāganiṣpatter acoditadeśopādānena yathāśāstrayāgo nānuṣṭhitaḥ syād iti.

A *parisaṃkhyā* is an injunction which restricts us to one out of two or more possible alternatives which otherwise might be resorted to simultaneously and which are known independently of the present injunction, e.g. *pañca pañcanakhā bhakṣyāḥ* i.e. of five-nailed animals only five viz. śaśaka, śallakī, godhā etc. may be eaten. Now one naturally wants to eat the five species of animals with five nails as well as other animals with five nails and it is possible to eat both kinds of animals at one sitting. The injunction *pañca pañcanakhā bhakṣyāḥ* restricts us to only five particular species of animals with five nails, thereby forbidding the eating of other animals with five nails. It should be noted that the injunction does not enjoin the eating of the five animals with five nails. It simply states that if one feels inclined to eat five-nailed animals, he must restrict his choice to these particular varieties.

To take another example—'imām agṛbhṇan raśanām ṛtasya, ity aśvābhidhānīm ādatte' i.e. the sacrificer should hold the reins of the horse reciting the *mantra* 'imām agṛbhṇan raśanām ṛtasya' (i.e.

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Prajāpati and others held this girdle made of Kuśa grass at the beginning of the sacrifice). For the construction of the Citi, bricks are brought by the ass and the horse. The word 'raśanā' has reference to some animal, here of course, to both the ass and the horse. The following word *aśvabhidhānīm*, however, restricts the reins to the horse and thus precludes the ass. Citinirmāṇārtham gardabhenāśvena ca iṣṭakā ānīyante, tatra imām agṛbhṇan raśānām iti liṅgād gardabharaśanāyām api mantraḥ prāptaḥ aśvābhidhanīm ity anena nivartyate (Kuñcikā on Laghumañjūṣā, p. 723).

Both *niyama* and *parisaṃkhyā* agree in this that both restrict the action to one of several possible alternatives. In the case of a *niyama* the alternatives can only operate *one* at a time, in the case of a *parisaṃkhyā*, however, they may operate *simultaneously*. Further in the case of a *niyama*, we commit an offence by violating what is prescribed by the rule; in a *parisaṃkhyā* vidhi we commit an offence by doing what is implicitly forbidden by the rule.

It should be further noted that though in most cases of *prisaṃkhyā* we are free to do what is prescribed by the rule or not and no sin accrues so long as we do not do what is forbidden by the *parisaṃkhyā*, there are certain cases of *parisaṃkhyā* where failure to obey the positive part of the injunction brings on sin. e.g., *dvayoḥ praṇayati*.

Another point to note is that since in both *niyama* and *parisaṃkhyā* there is the common element of restriction to one out of many possible alternatives, the one term often stands for both. Thus in Grammar a *parisaṃkhyā* is called a *niyama*, just as in Rhetoric the figure *parisaṃkhyā* includes cases which strictly speaking come under *niyama*. As Paṇḍitarāja Jagannātha points out: Niyamo 'py asmin darśane [i.e. Alaṅkāraśāstre] niruktalakṣaṇākrāntatvāt [i.e. śāmānyataḥ prāptasyārthasya kasmāccidviśeṣād vyāvṛttiḥ Parisaṃkhyā] Parisaṃkhyaiva—pākṣikaprāpti-yugapatprāptirūpasyāvāntaraviśeṣasyāvivakṣaṇāt. Ata eva vaiyākaraṇānāṃ mate parisaṃkhyāpi niyamaśabdenocyate. Tathāhi 'kṛttaddhitasamāsāś ca' [Pāṇ. I. 2. 46] ity atra samāsagrahaṇaṃ niyamārtham iti hi teṣāṃ siddhāntaḥ. Tatra hi samāse pākṣikyāḥ prātipadikasaṃjñāyāḥ prāpter abhāvāt kathaṃ nāma parābhimataniyama upapadyeta. Yugapadd hi samāsa-samāsetarapadasaṅghātasya "arthavat—" [Pāṇ. I. 2. 45] sūtram prāptam iti parisaṃkhyā bhavitum arhati.

KSHITISH CHANDRA CHATTERJI

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The Seventeenth International Congress of Orientalists, Oxford, 1928

The 17th International Congress of Orientalists was held at Oxford after a lapse of sixteen years under the presidency of Prof. A. A. Macdonell. About seven hundred persons of almost all nationalities, from Asia, Europe and America, evinced their interest in the activities of the Congress.

On the evening of the 27th August the Congress assembled in the spacious hall of the Examination School in the historic town of Oxford. Lord Chalmers in welcoming the members and delegates expressed his great pleasure at the presence of scholars from Asia, America and all parts of Europe. He referred to the fact that this congregation was the first of its kind in Europe since the great war, and pointed out how the love of knowledge could work as a unifying power in the establishment of amity among the nations.

About two hundred scholars read papers, or spoke, using in some cases lantern slides, to illustrate their lectures and the latest discoveries made by them. Papers were read in German, French and English, one in Arabic and a few in Italian and other European languages. The Congress was divided into nine sections, each being presided over by a recognised authority on the subjects falling within the purview of the section. The sections with their Presidents are given below:—

Section		President
„ I	General	Prof. J. L. Myres
„ II	Assyriology and kindred subjects	„ S. H. Langdon
„ III	Egypt and Africa	„ F. Ll. Griffith
„ IV	Central and Northern Asia	„ F. W. Thomas
„ V	The Far East	„ W. E. Soothill
„ VIa[1]	Ancient India	„ F. W. Thomas
„ VIa[2]	Modern India ; Southern India with Ceylon.	„ Do.
„ VIb	Iran, Armenia, and the Caucasus	„ Do.
„ VII	Hebrew and Aramaic	„ G. A. Cooke
„ VIII	Islam ; Turkey	„ D. S. Margoliouth
„ IX	Oriental Art	„ Sir Michael Sadler

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As the gentlemen, whose names appear in this list, were unable to preside throughout the Congress, their places were filled, when necessary, by distinguished scholars who were selected from among those present. Papers were read simultaneously in the different sections in the mornings and evenings of the three days, 28th, 29th and 30th. Discussions on the papers were invited by the sectional Presidents giving rise at times to many lively debates which relieved the tedium induced by much specialised papers.

On the Ist September, the final meeting was held for adopting the resolutions which had passed through the various sections. The following were among the subjects dealt with in the resolutions :

The fee over and above cost price for the Indian archæological photographs for publication, and the availability of photographs for study in the India Office Library.

The co-operation of Governments and learned Societies in the record and publication of documents in languages, which are in danger of extinction.

The increased cost of archæological publication, allocation of a larger proportion of funds for publication so as to reduce prices, and the desirability of publication of immediate provisional summaries of results of excavations.

The collection and publication of information on aboriginal tribes of Malay Peninsula.

The importance of ethnographical and linguistic survey of Burma now in progress, and the hope that the Burmese Government may find means to carry it out to its completion.

Congratulation to Sir George H. Grierson on the successful completion of his linguistic survey of India, and thanks to the Government of India for having caused the work to be undertaken, and met all the charges.

Gratitude to the Government of Ceylon and the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society for undertaking the preparation of an Etymological Dictionary of the Sinhalese language.

The need for the formation of a consultative committee of comparative philologists interested in Indo-Aryan and Dravidian to advise with regard to the compilation of etymologies.

The desirability of publication of a complete historical Arabic dictionary which should be considered by the Government of Egypt.

Approval of the proposed Corpus Medicorum Arabicorum.

Approval of the proposed Bibliotheca Arabica Scholasticorum.

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Satisfaction at progress made with Concordance of Arabic poetry up to the end of the Omeyyad dynasty.

Appreciation of the action already taken by the Nizam of Hyderabad and urging that steps be immediately taken to obtain a complete and adequate photographic record of all the remaining fragments of Indian wall-paintings which, inspite of all efforts for preservation, are liable to gradual decay and ultimate disappearance.

Recommendation for the formation of schools of archæology in India independently organized and financed on the lines of those in Athens and Rome, but in connexion with an institution founded, maintained, and controlled by the Government.

The Congress terminated after taking the last decision that the next Congress will be held in Holland in 1931 under the auspices of the University of Leyden, an important centre of oriental studies in Europe.

The activities of the Congress were of such a varied character that it is difficult to give even a bird's eye view within a short compass without doing injustice to many of the excellent papers read by scholars of world-wide repute. We give below the names of scholars and their papers contributed by them to the Section VIa i.e. relating to India :

Section VIa

(1) *Paper with Lantern Slides*

Pertold, Dr. O.	...	The Bhils of Sātpura hills.

(2) *Papers requiring longer than 20 Minutes*

De, Dr. S. K.	...	The problem of the Mahānāṭaka.
Tucci, Prof. G.	...	Buddhist logic before Dignāga.
Hauer, Prof. Dr. J. W.	...	The problem of the Vrātyas and the fifteenth book of the Atharvaveda.

(3) *Short Papers*

Aiyangar, Dr. S. K.	...	The Kalabhra interregnum: what it means in South Indian history.
Bhattacharjee, Mr. U. C.	...	Vedānta and the Vedāntists.
Bloch, Mons. J.	...	Sur les rapports entre les vocabularies dravidien et indo-aryen.

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Chakravarty, Mr. P. C.	...	Archery in ancient India.
Chand, Dr. H.	...	The Eastern recension of the Rāmāyaṇa and its relation to other recensions.
Chatterji, Mr. J. C.	...	(1) Some aspects of Hindu philosophy and the latest scientific thinking in the West. (2) The Biblical Exodus in a different version in the Ṛg Veda.
Chaudhury, Mr. S. B.	...	Antiquity of the Puranic tradition.
Chengalvarayan, Pandit N.	...	A celebrated ground-nut festival (Kadlaka Jatra) of Bangalore which reveals the origin of Basavangudi.
Dharmacharyya, Rev. D. A.	...	Buddhism in Nepal.
Diwekar, Mr. H. R.	...	Asuras in Taittirīya Saṃhitā.
Dutt, Dr. N.	...	(1) An aspect of early Mahāyāna Buddhism. (2) A note on the MS. Pañcaviṃśati-sāhasrikā-prajñā-pāramitā.
Jayatilaka, Mr. D. B.	...	The Sinhalese etymological dictionary.
Ganguli, Mr. D. C.	...	The origin of the Paramāra dynasty.
Hiriyanna, Prof. M.	...	Iṣṭa-siddhi : an old and unpublished work on Advaita.
Johnston, Mr. E. H.	...	Some Buddhist writers and the Kauṭilīya Artha-Śāstra.
Kibe, Sardar M. V.	...	(1) The date of Karkācārya. (2) Rāvaṇa's Laṅkā located in Central India.
Kincaid, Mr. C. A.	...	The poet Mahīpati.
Majumdar, Dr. R. C.	...	The palæography of the Inscriptions of Champa, and its bearing on the history of Indian colonization in that country.
Mansion, Prof. J.	...	Quelques passages de Patañjali au point de vue de l'histoire du sanscrit.
Oltramare, Prof. P.	...	La Bhagavadgītā, partie intégrante du Mahābhārata.
Pertold, Dr. O.	...	(1) Two types of foreign demons of the Sinhalese. (2) Some non-Aryan elements in the Sinhalese language.

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Przyluski, Dr. J.	...	Hippokoura et Śātakarṇi.
Roberts, Mr. S. G.	...	Tamil proverbs as essential to correct conversation and to full comprehension of the language.
Sarma, Mr. R.	...	Vijñāna-vāda from Sanskrit sources.
Sastri, Mr. G. H.	...	References to Cora Śāstra in Sanskrit literature.
Stasiak, Prof. S.	...	Fallacies and their classification according to the early Hindu logicians.
Thomas, Prof. F. W.	...	The date of the Svapna-vāsavadatta.
Vader, Mr. V. H.	...	Further researches into the antiquity of the Vedas.
Vaidya, Mr. G. N.	...	Some manuals of the Dhanurveda.
Williams Jackson, Prof. A.V.		Note on a passage in Bāṇa's Harṣacarita.
Winternitz, Prof. M.	...	The critical edition of the Mahābhārata.
Mackay, Mr. G.	...	Some ancient connections of the Indus Valley.

R.

Newly discovered Asoka Edicts

A momentous discovery of another recension in Brāhmī script of fourteen rock edicts of Asoka has just been announced by the Department of Archæology in India. The inscription have been found engraved on five large rocks in the Kurnool District of the Madras Presidency. Eleven of the fourteen rock edicts have already been identified. It is expected that a fuller report together with the photographs of the inscriptions will be available shortly.

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REVIEW

KĀVYĀLAṄKĀRA by Bhāmaha with English translation and notes by P. V. Nāganāth Śāstrī, B.A., B.L., Vakil, High Court, Tanjore.

We heartily congratulate Paṇḍit Śāstrī on his completion of an independent edition of one of the earliest rhetorical works in Sanskrit, namely the work of Bhāmaha. The want of such an edition was being keenly felt by scholars at large. It first appeared in print, some years back, only as an appendix to the *Pṛatāparudra-Yaśobhūṣaṇa* in the Bombay Sanskrit Series. But that edition could not be satisfactory on account of the inadequacy of the manuscript material on which it was based. The edition under review has had the advantage of the collation of several Mss. and as a consequence the readings have been improved in many cases.

The work, however, suffers from several defects which have considerably minimised the importance of the edition. It was based, as we learn from a statement of the editor in the Introduction, on as many as four Mss. Curiously, however, scarcely any variant reading has been noted. Several big lacunæ have been allowed to remain just as they were in the previous edition of the work. It is strange that readers have been left in the dark as regards the readings, if any, in the Mss. consulted by the editor. The whole work has been translated into English and, explanatory notes, though not always of a high standard, have been added after each verse.

The printing and get-up of the work also leave much to be desired. And we have every hope that the editor will try to remove these defects and thus enhance the utility of the work when it undergoes a second edition.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

JAINA LEKHA SAMGRAHA, vol II, by Puran Chand Nahar, M.A., B.L.

Mr. Nahar is to be congratulated on his edition of the second volume of the Jaina inscriptions collected by him from different places of India. These inscriptions, like the previous ones published in vol I, belong to a comparatively modern period (11th-19th century). They have been collected from different parts of India, Murshidabad, Rungpur, Madhuban, Pava, Rājagṛha, Benares,

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Mathura, Agra, Alwar, Bikaneer, Marwar, Kathiawad etc. Some of them are written in Sanskrit and some in Hindi. Most of them are votive inscriptions commemorating either the construction of temples or erection of statues.

A series of 118 modern Jaina inscriptions was edited and published by G. Bühler in the *Ep. Indica*, vol. II. L. Rice published many more in the volumes of the *Ep. Carnatica*. The inscriptions edited by Mr. Nahar form a *suite* of those collections. They are of capital interest for the study of the great revival of Jainism which took place in the 11th century. The work of propagation has been carried on since then in the different parts of India, and Jainism has succeeded in re-establishing itself in regions whence it was once ousted by Buddhism. These inscriptions will help the study of this later phase of Jainism. They will also render great help in determining with precision the time of the *gaṇadharas* of different *gacchas*.

Mr. Nahar has not published the plates and that has greatly impaired the critical aspect of the work. There is practically no means of verifying the readings which do not seem to have been very carefully done. There is one plate facing p. 185. The reading given on pp. 185-186 contains several inaccuracies l. 4...*kamalāvilāsa* does not seem to be quite correct. L. 7-8 *naṃdyānnavīnagarī* should be read as naṃdyān-navīna-nagarī; l. 9 *bhayādvibheti* is not supported by the plate; l. 21 *sa karuṇa* should be *sakaruṇa*; l. 22 *dve kālye* should be *dvaikālpa*; l. 28 *jīyā / nnārāyaṇo* should be *jīyānnārāyaṇo*; l. 29 *kāmarūmaḥ* should be *kāmarūpaḥ*. If the plates had been published the scientific value of the work would have been increased. But even as such the work will be useful to the students of Jainism.

P. C. BAGCHI

HINDU LAW AND CUSTOM by Julius Jolly. Authorised English Translation by Batakrishna Ghosh. Greater India Society; Calcutta, 1928.

The standard work of Professor Jolly, entitled *Recht und Sitte*, on Hindu Law and Custom, which was published in 1896 in the well-known Grundriss Series, requires no introduction to the scholarly world. Mr. Batakrishna Ghosh, an enthusiastic young Indologist, is to be congratulated on his bringing out a painstaking and excellent translation of this valuable work under the auspices of the very enter-

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prising Greater India Society of Calcutta, which has published it as the second of its interesting series of publications. Prof. Jolly's very stimulating and systematic work has been a mine of information on the subject, but unfortunately it had been so far a sealed book to those Indian scholars and students who were not conversant with German. Mr. Ghosh has removed this long-left want. But he has done more. He has tried to make the work up-to-date by supplementing its information by the addition of valuable footnotes and references which are meant to bring them into a line with the latest researches on the subject. One may perhaps indulge in the criticism that these footnotes could have been more copious and fuller, but it is possible that the limits of space as well as the more modest function of the translator prevented Mr. Ghosh from being as exhaustive as he might have desired.

Since the translation had the good fortune of having been looked over in considerable parts by the veteran author himself (a fact which in itself is a guarantee of its accuracy), one may venture to make one or two remarks in this connexion. One would naturally have entertained the hope that the opportunity thus offered would have enabled its learned author to effect certain improvements in the original text. The preliminary chapter on the Sources, for instance, could have been rewritten in the light of the very important additions made to our knowledge of the subject in the course of more than thirty years which have elapsed since its first publication. One also regrets that although most of the important original Sanskrit texts had been utilised for this work, the commentaries had been comparatively neglected, especially with reference to the later developments of the subject. It is a matter of great disappointment that, as the author himself explains in his Foreword to the translation, his advanced age and ill-health have prevented him from supplying these and other deficiencies.

The printing and general get-up of the work are excellent, and all credit must be given to the Pravasi Press for its typographical merits.

S. K. De

INDIAN UNTER BRITISCHEN HERRSCHAFT by Josef Horovitz. Handbuch der Englisch-Americanischen Kultur, Herausgegeben von Wilhelm Dibelins, 136 pp., 1928.

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This is an informative little book on India under British rule. The author has first-hand information on matters Indian, for he lived in India for eight years and thus had ample opportunity to study modern India in its various aspects. He has given as much information as possible within the small space at his disposal, on the economic, social and political condition of India. We hope that the continental readers who cannot use the English books on the subject will be able to form a correct idea of modern India from this handy volume.

B. K. G.

THE HISTORY OF RAJPUTANA (in Hindi), Fasc. II by Rai Bahadur Gaurishankar Ojha.

The present fasciculus contains a preface of 46 pages and a table of contents of volume I of the book in progress, besides a continuation of the history of the Udaipur State (Mewar) from the earliest times till the accession of Rana Pratap Sinha (c. 550 A.C. to c. 1572 A.C.) in pages 401-735.

The preface and the table of contents should have been published in fasciculus I. In the preface the author gives an analysis of the materials for Rajput History. The whole subject is divided into three periods:

(i) From the earliest times until 1192 A.C. For this period the primary sources are inscriptions, numismatics and some works in Sanskrit, e.g., the dramas, Harakeli and Lalita-vigraharāja, the epic poem Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya, etc. (p. 18).

(ii) From 1192 A.C. till the accession of Akbar in 1556 A.C. The materials are of the same classes as under (1) above, besides Muhammadan records (pp. 18-20).

(iii) From the accession of Akbar till the present time. The materials are of the same classes as under (ii) above, besides works written in the vernaculars of Hindusthan. It must be admitted that the most interesting materials for the history of the later-day Rajputs are furnished by these vernacular works. The author refers to some of the Khyatas or chronicles (pp. 22-23), historical poems written in Rajasthani and Hindi (pp. 24-25), and commemorative songs composed by the cāraṇas or bards (p. 25). For a proper appreciation and criticism of these vernacular materials one must go through the very illuminating articles on 'Bardic and Historical Survey of Rajputana' contributed by the young Italian scholar, the late Dr. Tessitori, in the Journals of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for the years 1914 to

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1919. The untimely death of this erudite scholar has been a great loss keenly felt by all who are interested in the history of the Rajputs and it is regrettable that the author does not mention in the preface the excellent work done by him.

After an examination of the materials, the author reviews the works of his predecessor in this field and, of course, begins with a life-sketch of the celebrated annalist of Rajasthan, Lt. Col. James Tod. It may be mentioned here that there is a popular misconception about the *Rajasthan* which is believed to be a *'history'* of Rajputana and Rai Bahadur Pandit Gaurishankar Ojha is unwarily led into the same inaccuracy. A casual glance through the introduction to his *Rajasthan* will show that this shrewd and far-sighted annalist, Tod, had no such misunderstanding. He says, "It was never my intention to treat the subject in the severe style of history.....I offer this work as a copious collection of materials for the future historian," and, most fittingly styles his unique work as, not *history*, but *Annals and Antiquities* of Rajasthan (Tod's Rajasthan, edited by W. Crooke, vol. I, Introduction, p. lxv).

Turning now to the body of the book itself it is agreeable to find that the writer has, following Prof. Bhandarkar, accepted the authority of the Āṭpur Inscription of Saktikumara in tracing the early history of the Guhilotes of Mewar (Indian Antiquary, 1910, pp. 169 ff.). But he has in one essential respect differed from Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar. This difference arises out of the problem of the identification of Bappa Rawal. All traditions ascribe to Bappa Rawal the conquest of Chitore and the establishment of the Guhilotes on its throne. But in the list of rulers furnished by our earliest and best authority, the Āṭpur Inscription, the name of Bappa Rawal does not occur at all, presumably because, as an analysis of the terms shows, Bappa was a term of respect or designation; and, therefore, the list in the inscription apparently and appropriately gives the proper name and not the designation by which the ruler came to be known to later generations. To ascertain the person who came to be known as Bappa, we have one evidence to the effect that he abdicated the throne in 753 A.C.; and the author also rightly draws an inference to the effect that this person could not have ascended the throne of Chitore earlier than 713 A.C. from the inscription of Raja Man, a translation of which is given in Tod's Rajasthan but which is entirely ignored by Prof. Bhandarkar. Clearly, therefore, Bappa flourished between 713-753 A.C. According to Prof. Bhandarkar the prince who flour-

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ished about this period was Khummana I who is thus to be identified with the traditional Bappa Rawal. The author, however, finds fault with Prof. Bhandarkar's argument (pp. 409-410) on the ground that traditions preserved in Mewar describe Bappa as Khummana's father and that Prof. Bhandarkar's calculation of 24 years for each reign is questionable. It is easy to meet this criticism. Traditions are, as he himself says, conflicting, for there are some which identify Bappa with Shila and Prof. Bhandarkar's calculation is not based upon mere fancy but on accurate examination of the period from which the average of 24 years is obtainable.

Besides, the following points might also be urged in support of Prof. Bhandarkar's view. Bappa Rawal, whoever he may have been, acquired a celebrity by his conquest of Chitore. It was but natural that the later-day rulers of Mewar should take pride in describing themselves as his descendants. Now, it is curious to see that in inscriptions of the fifteenth century and later, rulers of Mewar are often described as descendants of Bappa,[1] whereas, in earlier inscriptions rulers of the same family took glory in describing themselves as descendants of Khummana.[2] Moreover, it is interesting to note that of the first 20 rulers of the dynasty as many as three bore the name of Khummana and a big historical poem dealing with the exploits of the Guhilotes is known as Khummana Rāsa.[3]

The cumulative effect of all these considerations is to identify Bappa not with Kalabhoja as the author has done but with Khummana I of the Āṭpur list.

The author has given a full description of a gold coin which he ascribes to Bappa Rawal (pp. 414-416). On the obverse of the coin there is a legend "Srī Bappa." Now the writer himself says that the term "Bappa" and its variations originally signified 'father' and later on they were used in a sense of reverence towards elders and respected persons. Is it possible that any prince could have issued a coin in either of the two senses? The authenticity of the coin, which is the

1 E.g. '*Bappavaṃśya* Śrībhuvanasiṃha' in the Rampur Inscription of 1438 A.C.

2 E.g. 'Khommāṇe Vinaṣṭe' in the Hastikundi Inscription of 996 A.C., Ep. Ind., vol. X; also "Khummāṇa-santati" etc. in Mt. Abu Inscription of 1285 A.C.

3 Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindusthan, by Dr. Grierson.

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only one so far discovered, must therefore be regarded with great suspicion.

The writer has with great ability traced the history of the princes of this dynasty and has been eminently successful. It can however be suggested that if, instead of looking through the Mewar point of view in isolation, he had attempted to put more emphasis upon the inter-state relations of those times, the subject would have been of greater interest and importance than a bare list of personal achievements. It appears possible that during c. 725 A.C. to c. 915 A.C., the Guhilotes, far from being independent rulers, were but *vassals* of the famous Gurjara Pratīhāra rulers of Kanauj, whose authority extended over all Rajputana as far as Gujarat and Malwa. It was probably the Guhilote prince Bhartripatta II whose alliance with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas is indicated by his marriage with a Rāṣṭrakūṭa princess; he shook off the allegiance to the Pratīhāras who were at the same time being hard pressed by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of the south.[1] Shortly after, a Paramara prince of Malwa (Muñja-rājā) attacked Mewar and for a time ruled over it, although the contemporary Guhilote prince was assisted by his ally, the Cālukya king of Gujarat. It is noticeable that evidence of a matrimonial alliance between the Cālukya and the Guhilote families is furnished by inscriptions.[2] The history of these centuries is a history of perpetual feuds among the Rajput clans in which marriage alliances not only indicated the course of diplomacy but also the grouping of the states contending among themselves.

The author has rendered a real service to the cause of history by supplying the correct chronology of the Guhilotes during the 12th and the 13th centuries. The reign of Jaitra Sinha (1213 A.C.-1252 A.C.) has been given its true place. The history of the prolonged conflict between Sultanate of Delhi and the State of Mewar during the 13th century will clearly disprove the idea that Muhammadan progress in India was an easy walk-over.

The great event of the early fourteenth century is the conquest of Chitore by Sultan Allauddin Khilji. The traditional version preserved in Tod, when examined, gives no sense. The author has, therefore, used all available sources, Hindu and Muhammadan, with the exception of a very important one, namely, the Ain-i-Akbari[3] which

1 Ep. Ind., vol. VII, pp. 30ff.
2 Annual Report, Rajputana Museum, 1914.
3 Eng. translation, vol. II, pp. 269ff.

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will be found to be more accurate in this respect than Ferishta. It is ascertained that Ratna Sinha, the ruling prince, died in the conflict along with Lakshman Sinha who belonged to a younger branch of the family. After the conquest of Chitore, first Khizr Khan, and later Maldev Chauhan, ruled Mewar till Hammir, a grandson of Lakshman Sinha, recovered the throne from Maldev's son (pp. 483-515). It is difficult to subscribe to this account in full. A careful examination of all the authorities, including Abul Fazl, will show that on Ratna Sinha's death Lakshman Sinha continued to withstand the attack of the Muhammadans for a further period and that he was then acknowledged as the ruling prince.[1] It is also more consonant with the above authorities to hold that after Lakshman Sinha's death, the titular headship of the clan devolved upon his sole surviving son Ajaya Sinha and in the latter's death on his nephew Hammir.

While dealing with the predecessors of Hammir and Lakshman Sinha, the author seems to have fallen into an inaccuracy. He finds fault with the Ranpur Inscription of 1438 A.C,[2] which says that Bhuvan Sinha defeated a Chauhan ruler, Śrī Ketuka, and the Sultan Allauddin (p. 511). Remembering that while the younger branch of the Guhilotes held the Jaigir of Sesoda under the main ruling branch, it is easy to see that the former must have fought many battles on behalf of the latter who were their sovereigns; and of these conflicts those with the Chauhan prince and Sultan Allauddin Khilji may be mentioned.[3] It is reasonable to infer that when the main line of the Guhilotes ended with Ratna Sinha, Lakshman Sinha of the collateral line being found to be the more competent person to hold the reins of government in critical time when the capital was invested by the enemy, was acclaimed as the new ruler.

The author supports Tod's view that Hammir met Muhammad Khilji's army and defeated it, although in his opinion there are some inaccuracies in Tod's description. In the first place, Hammir's enemy was Muhammad *Tughluck, not Khilji*; and secondly, there are some exaggerations, e.g., the story of the capture of the Sultan is mythical (pp. 546-548). On the contrary, however, the story seems

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1 The epithet nṛpaḥ is applied to Lakshman Sinha by the Kumbhalgaḍh Praśasti ; cf. verses 177-179.

2 Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions of Katthyawar, p. 114.

3 Compare in this connection the quotation from the Tirthakalpa given in footnote No. 2, p. 477, in the book.

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to be without foundation. A shrewd and clear-sighted scholar as he is, the author should have seen through the curious error of the traditions upon which Tod's account is based. All our authorities, Hindu and Muhammadan, agree that a later Rana, Sanga, *did* take one Sultan Mahmud *Khilji* of Malwa prisoner. Owing to the uncritical nature of the traditions the same event has been credited to many rulers of the state and the present story is only an instance of the same character. The surname *Khilji* together with the incidents connected with the affair clearly shows the fallacy of the traditional account.

The chronology of the fifteenth century as put forward by the author is not free from doubts. Hammir reigned for 64 years according to Muhanoti Nensi, and, if his accession took place in 1315 A.C. (as there is good reason to maintain), his death may be said to have taken place in 1379 A.C.[1] Hammir's successor was Khetra Sinha, who, according to the author, died about 1382 A.C. (p. 571). Unfortunately this is not reconcilable with the known datas of Khetra Sinha's reign. This prince is, in an inscription, said to have imprisoned Ranamalla of Idar who had inflicted a great ignominy upon the Sultan of Gujarat. A glance through the contemporary history of Gujarata will show that about 1403 A.C. Jaffar Khan,Sultan of Gujarat, was imprisoned by his son who continued to rule over the kingdom for some time as independent ruler. It is likely that Ranamalla of Idar took some part in this overthrow of Jaffar Khan.[2] Consequently, Khetra Sinha's death took place about 1403-5 A.C.

Early in the fifteenth century, the Guhilotes of Mewar came into intimate touch with the rising power of the Rāṭhores of Marwar. The incident which brought their connection close, was the marriage of Rana Lakha Sinha with Hamshavai, daughter of Rao Chunda of Mandor. Taking advantage of this event there was an influx of Rāṭhores in Mewar and their influence dominated Mewar politics throughout the reigns of Lakha and Mohal as well as a part of Kumbha's reign. The history of this period is conflicting; for we have, on the one hand, the Mewar chronicles which put all the blame

1 The author speaks of an inscription of 1266 A.C. of Rana Hammir's son, Khetra Sinha (p. 571). But it is doubtful whether the date has been carefully read. Even Dr. Tessitori was misled by Tod to commit a blunder of this nature. JASB, 1916, p. 115.

2 Bombay Gazetteer, History of Gujarat, vol. I, part 1, pp. 232-234.

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on the Rāṭhore party led by Ranamalla on the ground that the latter had his eyes upon the throne of Mewar; while, on the other, the Rāṭhore chroniclers find fault with the spirit of wanton jealousy manifested by the Guhilotes which culminated in the assassination of Rāṭhore Ranamalla in Chitore although the latter was not in any way concerned with the conspiracy to unseat his relations from the throne of Mewar. Bearing in mind the peculiar polity of the mediæval Rajput states, where each state stood for one clan and outside influence was regarded as a negation of the rights of the clansmen, it will appear that the Rāṭhore version is probably more trustworthy, especially as, barring the traditions, we have hardly any overt act laid at the door of Ranamalla which could be adduced in support of his ambition.

The author deals with Rana Kumbha's reign with great skill and knowledge; but the fact that while contending against the Sultans of Malwa and Gujarat, Kumbha had also to meet attacks from his own kith and kin, namely, Khema Sinha and the Rāṭhore leader Jodha, should have been emphasised upon, for, only then it is possible for the reader to form a clear idea of the difficulties by which he was surrounded and from which he came out in flying colours.

Leaving aside the conflicts with the Sultan of Malwa, the most noteworthy event of Rana Raymalla's reign (1473-1509) was the quarrel among his sons. All later authorities and traditions extoll Sanga, but it is a question whether he should not be accused of creating civil dissensions within the state with the help of Surajmalla —troubles that blasted the last years of Raymalla's reign.

Rana Sanga (1509-1528 A.C.) ruled over the state for 19 years, but it was a period full of events of engrossing interest. He fought against and routed his enemies, namely, the Sultan of Malwa, Gujarat and even Delhi; and these successes must have inspired him to bid for the imperial throne at Delhi. The battle of Khanwa between Sanga and Babar decided the fate not only of Sanga but of India as well. The author puts forward three reasons for Sanga's defeat, the principal one being Sanga's lack of promptness. If Sanga had, immediately after his initial success, pushed forward, Babar would not have secured time to entrench himself in a strong position. A glance through the memoirs of Babar would show that the initial success gained by Sanga's army was only against a reconnoitering party sent by Babar and not against any portion of Babar's main army. Besides, it does not at all appear that Sanga wasted away

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time unnecessarily on the way to Khanwa. Most assuredly, as the author alleges, a second reason of Sanga's failure is to be traced to the time-worn methods of warfare against such a consummate leader as Babar who was using the most up-to-date system against his enemy. But it would appear that the most potent cause of Sanga's failure was the want of unanimity in the Rajput ranks. Babar tells us that Sanga had collected a "rabble-rout" and the mentality of the Rajput clans who had been compelled to join Sanga's standard can be clearly understood when we find each of them taking its own way home after Sanga's defeat on the battle-field. In fact, where clan-feeling predominated it is idle to expect a national sentiment.

On Sanga's death the throne of Mewar passed to his son Ratna Sinha (1528-1531 A.C.) for whose reign as well as the reigns of his successors our best and reliable authority is the Khyata of Muhanoti Nensi. It appears that Ratna Sinha's step-brothers, Vikramaditya and Udaya Sinha, had received from their father the district of Ranthambhor in Jaigir. As soon as Ratna Sinha came to the throne, he found that the fort of Ranthambhor was of paramount importance for the defence of Mewar and accordingly desired that it should be garrisoned by the state army. The idea was entirely disliked by Surajmalla and Rani Karmeti, who were the guardians of the young princes, and they approached Babar for assistance against the Rana. The whole episode reveals the worst traits in the Rajput character.

With the accession of Vikramaditya in 1531 A.C. begins a change in the diplomatic relations of the state. Towards the close of Sanga's reign and throughout that of Ratna Sinha, the central idea in Mewar's external relations was alliance with Gujarat. But when Vikramaditya, a pro-Mughal prince, secured the throne of Mewar, Gujarat, which was now aspiring after the imperial position, scented danger and in 1533-34 undertook an invasion of the Rajput state. Mewar got out of the scrape by entering into an ignominous treaty with Gujarat, one of the terms being that the Rana's younger brother, Udaya Sinha, was sent as a hostage to the Gujarat court (Muhanoti Nensi Khyata). Gujarat apparently could not be satisfied until she was in a position to hold a sway over Mewar's external policy. Udaya Sinha, however, fled from Gujarat and in 1534-35 A.C. the latter state had to undertake a second expedition which culminated in the second 'śaka' of Chitore. With the assistance of the Emperor Humayun, Vikramaditya

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recovered the crown but was shortly put to death in 1537 A.C. by the bastard Banbir, who at once usurped the throne of Mewar. After a rule of 4 years he was driven out and Udaya Sinha proclaimed as the Rana.

Udaya Sinha (1541-1572) has been portrayed in the darkest possible colour by Col. Tod; and following him, almost all modern writers have fallen foul of him. The author (p. 734) is no exception. But if he is to be judged from his activities he cannot be said to have merited the slur cast upon him. The only incident which can be adduced against him was that on the occasion when Chitore was invested by Akbar in 1568 A.C., he left the citadel in the charge of some of his officers and himself retired into the Arravalis. It does not appear what else he might have done. To stay in Chitore was to court sure death. Under the circumstances he adopted the only tactics possible, namely, leaving the city under a strong army to continue withstanding the enemy's attack, while he (as the Tarik-i-Alfi says) engaged himself in creating diversions at the back of the enemy. He certainly showed his foresight by the construction of a new city which was named after him as Udayapur. On the whole, the testimony of Muhanoti Nensi who says that Udaya Sinha was a "very powerful prince" seems more accurate than that of Col. Tod. It should also be remembered that although he lived for four years more after the loss of Chitore, he never thought of submitting at the feet of the Mughal emperor although it might have saved him much trouble and was supported as well by the example shown by other Rajput rulers at that time. Like a true Rajput he preferred independence and adversity to submission and prosperity.

In conclusion, it is only necessary to acknowledge that all students of Rajput history must ever remain grateful to the author for the most brilliant work that he has produced at the cost of stupendous study and labour. As had been anticipated in the review of the first fasciculus, the name of the author is a guarantee that all that is worth knowing would find place in his work. There is hardly any evidence which he has left untouched and unexamined; and probably no other book of Indian scholarship published in recent years shows such a mastery of the subject, painstaking scholarship and accuracy of judgment. It is hoped that the author will be spared many years more not only to continue the work which he has undertaken but to enrich Indian historical literature by the publication of other books relating to the subject.

SUBIMAL CHANDRA DUTT

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Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Acta Orientalia, vol. VII, pt. i

B. FADDEGON.—*The Mnemotechnics of Pāṇini's Grammar.*

Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute, vol. IV, pts. ii-iv

H. HERAS.—*Two Controversial Events in the Reign of Samudragupta*: (1) The identification of Kāca, whose name is found inscribed upon a number of gold coins appearing to belong to the early Gupta Dynasty, and (2) the ascertainment of the exact number of Samudragupta's campaigns in the country of Āryāvarta are the subjects discussed in the article.

The writer finds in the Allahabad Inscription some clue from which the inference can be drawn that on the eve of Samudragupta's accession to the throne, his brothers rebelled against him and the eldest among them, presumably Kāca, was proclaimed king, coins being issued in his name. It is also argued in the light of the same inscription that Samudragupta waged two wars in Āryāvarta and not one as stated by authors of the histories of the Gupta period.

SUKUMAR SEN.—*The Use of the Cases in Vedic Prose.*

V. K. RAJVADE.—*Words in the Ṛgveda.*

C. V. VAIDYA.—*Winternitz and Daftary on Dixit's Date of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.* The writer points out flaws in the arguments used by Prof. Winternitz and Mr. Daftary in their opposition to Mr. S. B. Dixit's interpretation of a passage of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, on the strength of which the latter assigned it to c. 3000 B.C.

H. D. VELANKAR.—*Vairāgyasāra of Suprabhācārya* (a poem in Apabhraṃśa).

HIRALAL.—*The Kalacuris of Tripurī.*

EARNEST P. HORRWITZ.—*Concise Semantic Dictionary of the Sanskrit Language.* It is an extract containing 21 specimen words taken from the "Semantic Dictionary" prepared by the writer.

G. INAMDAR.—*A long-forgotten Method.* From the *Līlāvatī* of Bhāskarācarya has been demonstrated "the method of working out irregular quadrilaterals with commensurable elements, which

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supplies a kind of proof of the cyclic nature of the word *caturasra* that had so long been only a surmise."

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI, P. C. DIVANJI, K. CHATTOPADHYAYA.—*Madhusūdana Sarasvatī: His Life, Time and Works.*

D. R. MANKAD.—*A Note on the Authorship of 'Svapnavāsavadattam' etc.* The writer finds in the expression *paḍimāgado mahārāo* occurring in the *Kundamālā* of Diṅnāga believed to have flourished in the 5th century A.C., a reference to the *Pratimānāṭaka* of Bhāsa.

The Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London Institution, vol. v, pt. i

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.—*The Date of the Sabhāṣitāvali.* It has been argued in this article that the date of the *Ṣubhāṣitāvali* cannot be pushed back earlier than the 2nd nalf of the 15th century A.C. merely by reason of Sarvānanda's reference to verse 726 of that work in his commentary on the *Amarakoṣa* dated posterior to 1081 of the Śaka era; because the citation, according to Prof. Keith, may well be an interpolation.

W. DODERET.—*A Fourteenth Century Marathi Inscription.* The inscription records the formation of a trust by Sihipro, the minister of a Rājā in Konkan, in favour of a few *Agariās*, i.e. Śūdra cultivators.

R. L. TURNER.—*Romani Les and Sanskrit Tasya.*

K. V. RAMACHANDRAN.—*The Age of Maṇimēkalai.*

Y. MAHALINGA SASTRI.—*Appaya Dīkṣita's Age.* Evidences have been adduced here to show that Appayya Dīkṣita's life covered seventy-two years (1520-1593) of the 16th century.

R. RAMAMURTI.—*Two forgotten Sanskrit Dramas.* Extracts from the *Kṛṭyārāvaṇa* and *Pārthavijaya* found quoted in several works on poetics and dramaturgy have been put together in this article.

Half-yearly Journal of the Mysore University, vol. II, no. 2

H. N. RAGHAVENDRACHAR.—*The Problem of Superimposition (Adhyāsa) in Advaita-Vedānta.*

S. V. VENKATESWAR.—*Indian Architecture under Akbar.*

S. CHANDRASEKHARA SASTRI.—*Economic Conditions under the Hoysaḷās.*

Indian Antiquary, December, 1928

JARL CHARPENTIER.—*Kāṭhaka Upaniṣad.* The work is being translated with Introduction and notes.

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NIHARRANJAN RAY.—*A Note on the Chronology of the later Pratihāras.*

R. D. BANERJI.—*The Empire of Orissa.* This instalment of a continued article deals with the reign of Kapilendra or Kapileśvara.

Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, vol. XIV, pt. iv

A. S. ALTEKAR.—*Patna Museum Third Plate of Pravarasena II.* This copper-plate records the grant of a village called Srīparṇikā to three Brāhmaṇas by king Pravarasena II of the Vākāṭaka dynasty.

R. D. BANERJI.—*The Northern Conquests of Kṛṣṇa III* [of the Rāṣṭrakūṭā dynasty].

R. D. BANERJI.—*Pāla Chronology.*

G. RAMADAS.—*Tri-Kaliṅga Country. Tri* in the expression *Tri-Kaliṅga* has the sense of high, the whole word meaning 'high or elevated or hilly Kaliṅga' which signified in the old days 'the region of the Eastern Ghats from the upper course of the Mahānadī to about the source of the Languliya river in the south.'

Journal of Oriental Research, vol. II, pts. iii-iv

SUKUMAR RANJAN DAS.—(1) *Conjunction of Planets called Grahayūti in Hindu Astronomy.* (2) *Heliacal Rising and Setting of Planets and Stars as in Hindu Astronomy.*

G. HARIHARA SASTRI.—*Some unexplained Prakrit Passages.* This is a reply to Dr. C. K. Raja who finds Malayalam influence in some Prakrit passages in the works attributed to Bhāsa and therefore is of opinion that the published *Svapnavāsavadatta* is an adaptation from a Malabar drama of that name.

N. AIYASWAMI SASTRI.—*Tantrasiddhāntikā.* In this paper the writer concludes that Appayya Dīkṣita III is the author of the *Tantrasiddhāntikā* which tradition attributes to Bhoṭṭojī Dīkṣita.

N. NAGARAYA SARMA.—*New Light on Dream-Psychology.*

S. K. RAMANATHA SASTRI.—मुरारिमिश्रः विपादीनीतिनयन' च. Here is published for the first time a chapter from the *Tripādīnītinayana*, a work on Mīmāṃsā by Murāri Miśra. As this author differs essentially from the two well-known Mīmāṃsā schools of Bhaṭṭa and Prabhākara, he has been identified with Murāri referred to in the Sanskrit saying *Murares tṛtīyaḥ panthāḥ* (Murāri always follows a third course of his own). In the light of the evidences

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supplied by the work itself, he has been assigned a date posterior to Bhavanātha but anterior to Gaṇgeśopādhyāya.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, October, 1928

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY.—*The Buddha's Cūḍā, Hair, uṣṇīṣa, and crown.*

F. W. THOMAS.—*The Date of the Svapnavāsavadatta.* Differing from scholars who believe that the *Svapnavāsavadatta* of Bhāsa has undergone a great transformation and that the Trivandrum play of that name may only be an imitation of the original, Prof. Thomas suggests that in view of the similarity found between the plots and passages of the printed *Svapnavāsavadatta* and those of dramas like the *Ratnāvalī* and the *Priyadarśika*, the *Svapnavāsavadatta* may be a very old play widely copied by other writers.

H. R. DIVEKAR.—*Timing of Dramatic Representations in India.* That a dramatic performance in ancient India had to be completed within a prescribed period of time calculated by means of *udaka-nālikā* or water-clock has been shown on the authority of the *Bhāratīya Nāṭyaśāstra.*

Quaterly Journal of the Mythic Society, October, 1928

L. A. KRISHNA IYER.—*The Malayarayans of Travancore.*

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A. HILLEBRANDT.—*Pañca janāḥ.* Rejects the interpretation as applying to the Druhyus, Anus, Bharatas and the like, and suggests its Vedic significance to be a certain prehistoric group of Aryan tribes that is no more capable of being defined.

HERMANN JACOBI.—*Indischer Schislerwitz* (Indian learned wit).

D. SRINIVASA CHUR.—*Critical Remarks on Prācīna-ṭīkās.* Shows the importance of the ancient and unprinted commentaries on Madhvācārya's works preceding the well-known commentary of Jayatīrtha.

D. UI.—*On the Author of the Mahāyāna-sūtrālaṃkāra.* Shows that the verse portions of this work were composed by Maitreya

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(c. 270-350 A.C.) and the commentary portion was prepared by Vasubandhu.

A. H. FRANCKE.—*Zwei Erzählungen aus der tibetischen Vetālapañcaviṃśatikā.* (Two narratives out of the Tibetan *Vetālapañcaviṃśatikā*).

A. VENKATASUBBIAH.—*The Pañcatantra of Durgasiṃha.* A detached account of a Kannada version of the *Pañcatantra* which was written in the 11th century A.C.—U. N. G.

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Page 172, *lines* 10-11, *Read* was a patent name of Annam *for* was a name of Annam.

Page 172, *line* 16, *Read* when ruled over by *for* and ruled by.

Page 176, *line* 1, *Read* considered *for* cosidered.

Page 176, *line* 8, *Read* on Burmese history *for* of Burmese history.

Page 177, *line* 9, *Read* Rennell's *for* Rennel's.

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Page 716, *line* 32, *Read* "I read the Inscription as given on the annexed slip" *for* " I read the inscription as given below."

Page 717, *line* 21, *Read* "Abd-ul-Samad" *for* "Ab-ul-Samad."

Page 717, *line* 22, *Read* (the father of Victory) *for* (the son of Victory).

Page 717, *line* 22, *Read* "Nur-ud-din *for* "Nurul-din."

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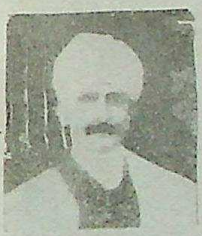

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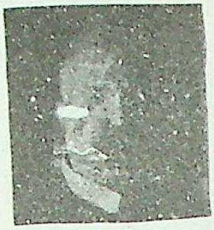

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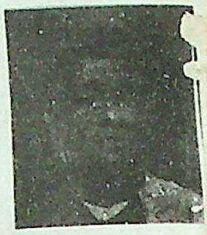

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